HISTORIC HASTINGS

GERALD E. BOYCE

Hastings County Council
Centennial Project, 1867-1967

HISTORIC HASTINGS

1867 1967

CANADA-CONFEDERATION

HISTORIC
HASTINGS

by
GERALD E. BOYCE

on behalf of the
HASTINGS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Published by
Hastings County Council

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COUNTY WARDENS
1867, 1967

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Marmora Village
Warden of
Hastings County
1967

DR. G. H. BOULTER
Reeve of Stirling
Warden of
Hastings County
1867

LEE GRILLS. M.P.
Hastings South

CLARKE T. ROLLINS, M.L.A.
Hastings East

HASTINGS COUNTY'S ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES
IN THE PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

RODNEY WEBB, M.P.
Hastings-Frontenac

W. E. SANDERCOCK, M.L.A.
Hastings West

Preface

The people of Hastings County live in an historic part of Ontario. This is a county noted for its Indian lore, its early iron mines at Marmora, the province's first gold rush, the giant Rathbun and Gilmour lumbering empires, and the pioneer cheese industry. The county has been the home of important businessmen such as Billa Flint and Henry Corby. The noted writer Susanna Moodie lived here for many years. As a young lawyer, John A. Macdonald practised law before the bar at the old court house, and one of his successors as prime minister, Mackenzie Bowell, was closely linked with this county for all of his adult life. The county town, Belleville, a product of the United Empire Loyalist days, nearly became the capital of Canada in the 1850's.

This book is intended to present a series of historical glimpses of the county's past and to record—in brief outline—the story of each of the county's 27 individual municipalities. Although the city of Belleville and the town of Trenton have been independent, self-governing municipalities for over a century, they continue to form a part of the county for judicial and electoral purposes. Moreover, since Belleville is the county town, and since both Belleville and Trenton have played a large role in the development of Hastings County, their stories have been included. So too have the Mohawks of the Crown lands of the Tyendinaga Reserve, in whom the county takes great pride.

The writing of this history, begun some five years ago, has been made possible by the splendid co-operation of many interested persons. The members of the 1965, 1966, and 1967 county councils have supported the project through grants, by arranging for material to be sent in from their municipalities, and by reading the draft chapters and offering constructive suggestions. County officials have been most obliging, especially W. N. Hurst, Miss Ivy Eggleton, Steve Geneja, and the staff of the Registry Office. Clerk-treasurer Carl Bateman has provided wise counsel and assistance, as have his staff members. A very real debt is owed to the late clerk-treasurer, Erle Denyes, whose keen interest in history led him to preserve many of the county's early records, an important source of information.

The work of research was lightened by kind and scholarly people at various libraries and archives, especially the archivists and technical officers of the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, the Provincial Archives at Toronto, and the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests; Miss Olive Delaney, Mrs. J. Howie, and the staff of the Corby Library, Belleville; Mrs. J. W. Sargent and the staff of the Hastings County Museum. Several members and friends of the Hastings County Historical Society assisted by researching the museum's files and the records of the County Clerk's Office, particularly Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Bedell, Mrs. G. A. Bennett, James Cole, James Connell, Miss M. Diamond, Mrs. Howard Graham, K. S. Hill and Mr. and Mrs. C. L. R. Wanamaker.

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NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA

COUNTY OF HASTINGS ARMORIAL DESIGN

Chapter 1

A Look at Hastings County

"Geography is the complete key to our development. It determines where we live, what we eat, what style of housing we build, what we work at — in short, it makes us what we are."

MAP I

COUNTY OF HASTINGS

LOCATION
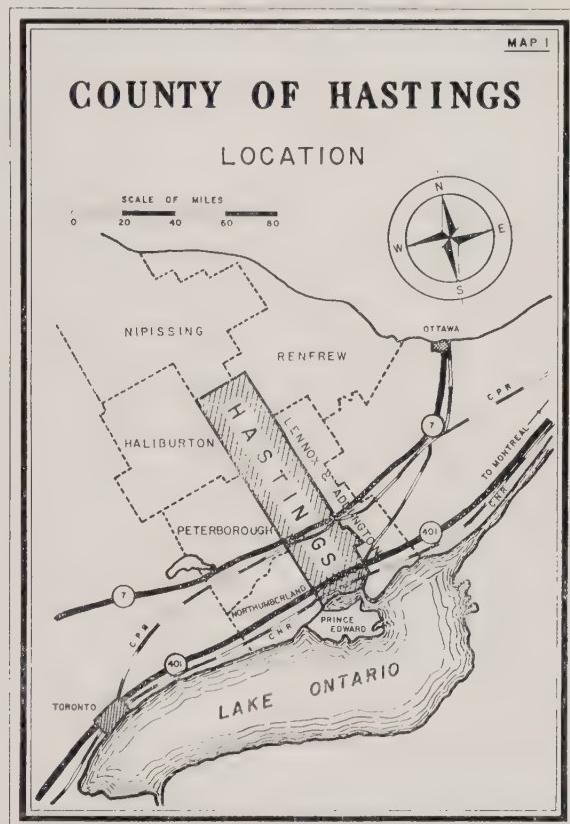
The development of Hastings County has been closely linked with its geography. Our people have earned their livelihood from the county's forests, fields and mines; often it has been a struggle. The early settler fought the forests to bring forth his first crops. The lumberman exploited the virgin forests and discovered that nature's bounty can be limited. At times, the miner found a rich reward underground; usually these deposits of gold and other minerals ran out after tempting the miner to invest heavily of his time and resources.

Hastings County, with an area of 2,323 square miles, is the second largest county in Ontario. It is also the second longest, stretching almost one hundred miles from north to south.

MAP 2

COUNTY OF HASTINGS
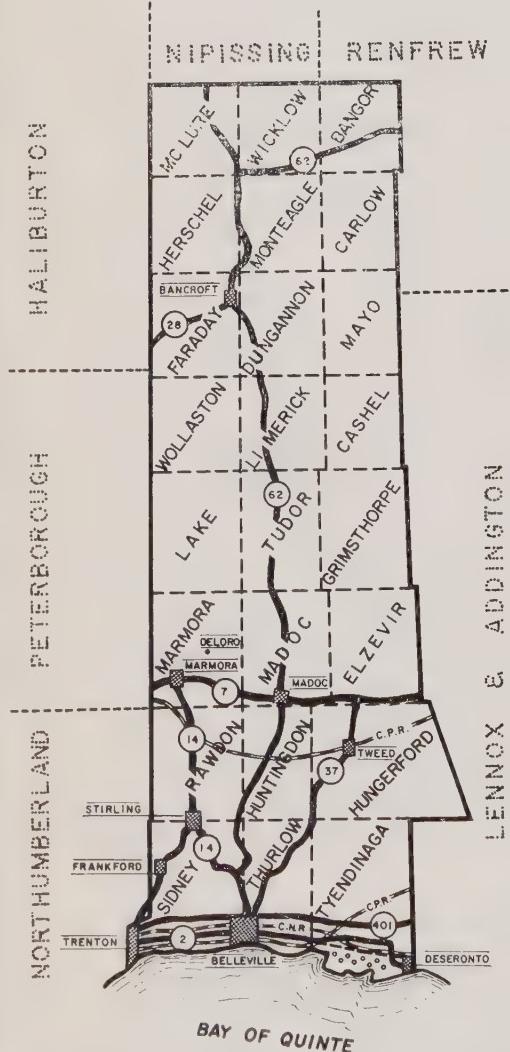
TRANSPORTATION, TOWNSHIPS and URBAN CENTRES

NIPISSING · RENFREW

HALIBURTON

MC LURE · WICKLOW · BANGOR

HERSCHEL · MONTEAGLE · CARLOW

BANCROFT

FARADAY · DUNGANNON · MAYO

WOLLASTON · LIMERICK · CASHEL

PETERBOROUGH

LAKE · TUDOR · GRIMSTHORPE

MARMORA · MADOC · ELZEVIR

DELORO · MARMORA · MADOC

RAWDON · HUNTINGDON · HUNGERFORD

C.P.R. · TWEED

STIRLING

FRANKFORD

SIDNEY · THURLOW · TYENDINAGA

LENNOX & ADDINGTON

NORTHUMBERLAND

TRENTON · C.N.R. · DESERONTO

BELLEVILLE

BAY OF QUINTE

SCALE OF MILES
0 · 5 · 10 · 20 · 30

LEGEND

MAIN HIGHWAYS 62
RAILWAYS ....
TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES - - - -
URBAN CENTRES ....
INDIAN RESERVE .... °°°°°°°

Within its boundaries are to be found some 92,000 people, of whom
32,300 live in the city of Belleville and 13,600 in the town of Trenton.
Deseronto (1,800), Bancroft (2,100), Frankford (1,800), Tweed (1,700),
Madoc (1,400), Stirling (1,300), Marmora (1,300), and Deloro (200)
are the other incorporated municipalities. The remaining 34,000 folk live

mainly on farms, although tourism, mining, and forestry activities account for some rural population.

Geography has determined the settlement patterns. The county's northern two-thirds, covered by the ancient rocks of the Canadian Shield, is sparsely settled. The southern third, part of the Great Lakes — St. Lawrence Lowlands, is the site of most towns and farming development. An escarpment passing through Hungerford, Huntingdon, Rawdon and Marmora townships marks the southern limit of the Canadian Shield.

The Canadian Shield section has scattered pockets of good agriculture land. However, its bedrock (mainly of granite gneiss, chlorite, gabbro, quartzite and marble) is generally exposed or covered by a thin veneer of stony tills. These unsorted deposits were laid down several thousand years ago by a huge continental glacier. The glacier, probably a part of the Third Ice Age, originated in northern Quebec and covered eastern Canada, travelling southward beyond the Canadian boundaries. The ice sheet removed some of the loose surface materials from the Canadian Shield and deposited them further south, so that the agriculture in the northern United States and southern Ontario is partly based on "imported soil".

In fact, although some surface material was carried south, the hardness of the underlying rock of the Canadian Shield restricted glacial gouging and resulted in thin soils over much of the northern part of the county. The exposed nature of the underlying igneous and metamorphic rock was an asset to the miner, who has found in the central and northern sections the iron, gold and uranium for which the county has become famous.

As the ice sheet moved south, less resistance was offered by the horizontal limestone beds of the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Lowlands. The rather massive thickly-bedded Black River limestones which border the Shield were more extensively eroded and to-day are covered by shallow-to-deep tills tending towards stoniness. In the extreme southwest the surface features of the Trenton limestones are thicker and less stony, reaching a maximum thickness of approximately two hundred feet in the Oak Hills. Most of these hills are whaleback-shaped with the steep slope usually facing towards the north-east. The material that makes up these drumlins, as the whalebacks are named, is a calcareous loam derived partly from the Black River limestones, but mainly from the soft, easily weathered Trenton limestones which underlie this part of the county. Interspersed with the drumlins are long gravel and sand ridges called eskers. These eskers were formed when melt water from the top of the glacier sank and formed rivers beneath the glacier. The Ridge Road from Stirling to West Huntingdon is built along the top of an esker and the gravel pit on the east side of the Trent River at Frankford is part of one.

In south Hastings, except for an area near Frankford and Wallbridge, the drumlins become less frequent and less pronounced. The drumlins are located on a relatively flat plain, formed during the retreat of the glacier when some of the glacial melt-water filled the basin now occupied by

MAP 3

COUNTY OF HASTINGS

BED ROCK

SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10 20 30

LEGEND

TRENTON LIMESTONE

BLACK RIVER LIMESTONE

OTHER LIMESTONE

ESCARPMENT

IGNEOUS & METAMORPHIC ROCKS
(CANADIAN SHIELD)

NIPISSING | RENFREW

HALIBURTON

PETERBOROUGH

NORTHUMBERLAND

LENNOX & ADDINGTON

SHIELD

CANADIAN

BAY OF QUINTE
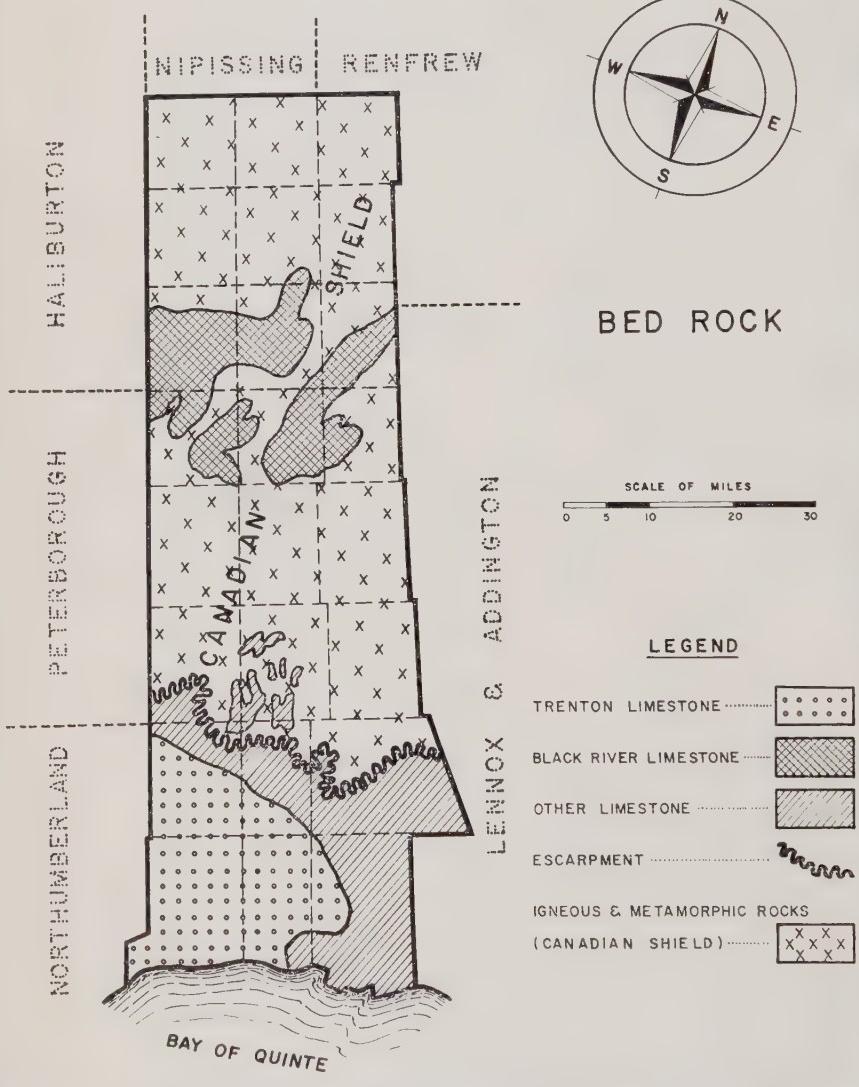
Lake Ontario and spilled over into the surrounding fringe areas. Lake
Iroquois. as this great glacial lake was called, flooded much of Thurlow,
Sidney, and Tyendinaga townships and small parts of Rawdon and Hun-
tingdon. Lake Iroquois disappeared when the glacier, retreating northward
from the St. Lawrence Valley, allowed the melt-water to find an outlet to
the Atlantic Ocean through the St. Lawrence Valley.

MAP 4

COUNTY OF HASTINGS

NIPISSING RENFREW

HALIBURTON

MADAWASKA

YORK

YORK

LANDFORMS

CANADIAN SHIELD

PETERBOROUGH

BEAVER MOIRA BLACK

LENNOX & ADDINGTON

SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10 20 30

MOIRA

LEGEND

RIVERS

DRUMLIN FIELDS

TILL PLAINS

CANADIAN SHIELD

LAKE IROQUOIS PLAINS &
DRUMLINS

TRENT

NORTHUMBERLAND

TRENT

MOIRA

SALMON

BAY OF QUINTE
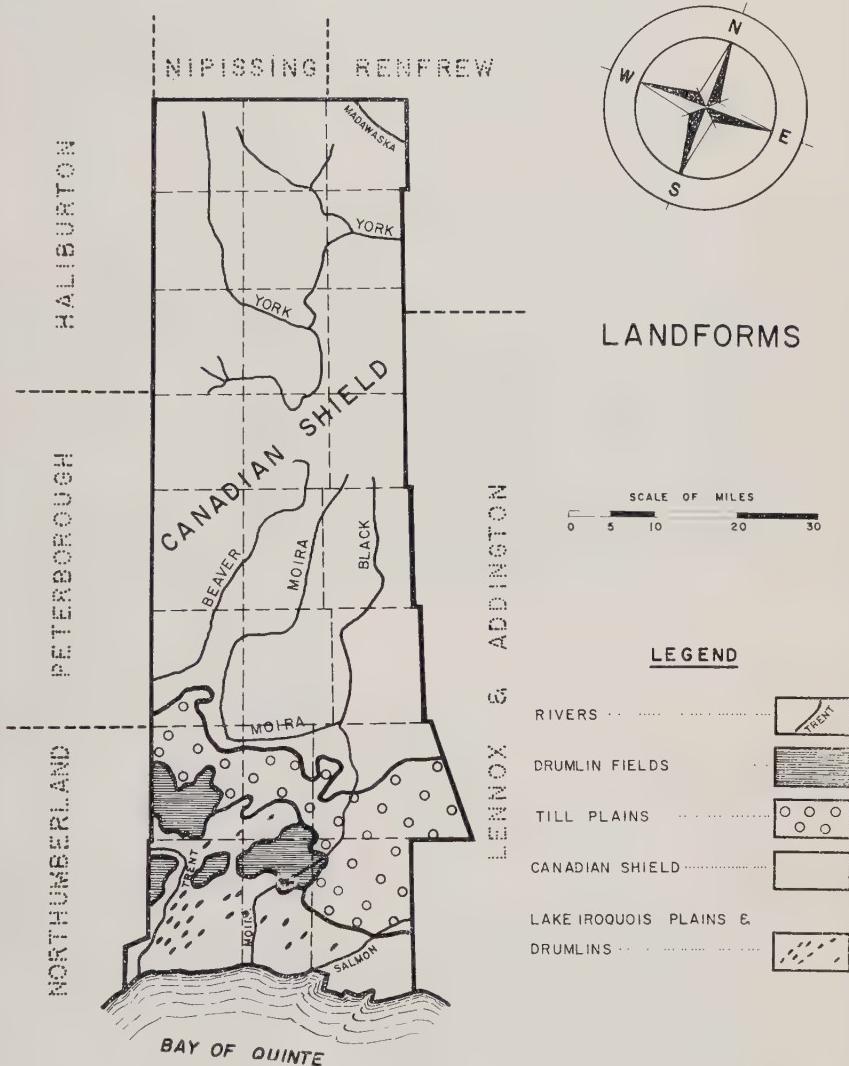
With the disappearance of the glacier and Lake Iroquois, the present river pattern began to establish itself. The northern third of Hastings County is drained by the York River and other tributaries of the Madawaska; the remainder by the Trent, Moira, and Salmon rivers.

It is on the Iroquois Plains that the best agricultural land of the county is located. A recently published study by the University of Guelph

(1963) states that the agricultural potential of this plain is above average for the most part, a statement supported by the county land assessment roll which shows the great majority of people living in the southern third of the county.

Although the soils on the drumlins in the Oak Hills are quite good, agriculture is restricted in over half that area because of the steep slopes or poorly drained land between the drumlins. The rather stony soils overlying the Black River Limestone also restrict agriculture to more favourable locations in the area.

Bridgewater (Actinolite) in Elzevir Township, from a sketch by J. Perrigo, 1870. The area had been heavily lumbered.

The hardships of the pioneers along the Hastings Colonization Road a century ago are striking testimony to the inferior nature of the agricultural land of the Canadian Shield as a whole. Nevertheless, this region does support agriculture in a few favourable pockets and the timber land is useful for lumbering and hunting. Uranium mining near Bancroft undoubtedly will undergo a revival as demands for atomic energy increase. Other minerals such as iron ore at Marmora, fluorspar, marble, and talc at Madoc also are of economic importance.

Tourism is rapidly becoming a major county industry. The Bay of Quinte and the Trent-Severn Waterway play host to hundreds of pleasure boaters each year, summer cottage settlements have sprung up on many of our relatively large lakes in the Highlands of Hastings, and many other favourable sites remain to be developed.

Improved transportation has made tourism possible throughout much of the county. The accompanying map (No. 1) shows the main rail and road lines that connect this county directly with Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa. Highway 62 from Foxboro to Maynooth serves as a major north-south artery for the county as a whole.

The extension of this route northward through Algonquin Park to North Bay would make the county a main gateway to the north, reminiscent of the 1860's when, because of the Gold Rush at Madoc, Belleville became known as the "Gateway to the Golden North".

Chapter 2

Before the White Man

*One is always fascinated by the early Indians because
so little is known about them.*

Our knowledge of the earliest inhabitants of Hastings County is based
on the work of the archaeologists, the accounts of early white explorers, and
the traditional legends of the Indians. Unfortunately, the archaeologists
have neglected our area, the white explorers did not touch the county until
the early seventeenth century, and the legends are not always reliable.

Reverend Bowen P. Squire of Consecon is one of the few archaeolo-
gists to study this area. At Consecon Lake (south of Trenton in Prince
Edward County) he has excavated a site which he believes has been inhabit-
ed for thousands of years by successive generations of peoples. To date.
he has identified remains of three distinct cultures: the Laurentian (which
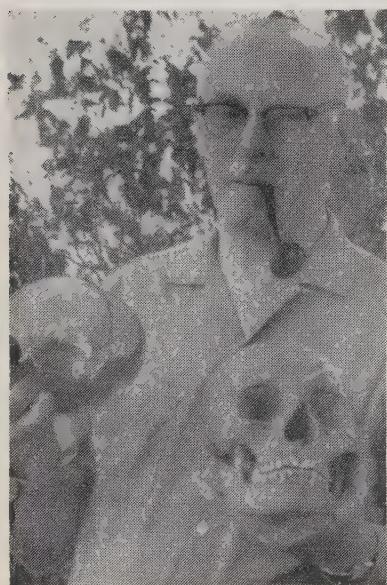
Reverend Squire compares the remains of a skull
buried near Trenton before the birth of Christ
with another some 350 years old (right) unearth-
ed at Carrying Place.

An archaeological dig on the Squire
Site, 1956 — Reverend Bowen P.
Squire (left) with Mr. and Mrs. M.
C. Cummings of Belleville.

some archaeologists believe may date back to the end of the ice age), the mound builders, and finally the later Indian tribes. The people of these cultures, who in their travels made use of the waterways of the Trent, the Moira, and the Bay of Quinte, were the aboriginal inhabitants of this region.

Before the birth of Christ, the people of the Laurentian culture roamed parts of the Bay of Quinte region and Hastings County. They were nomads who lived by hunting and fishing. Their weapons were made of granitic rock, then of quartzite, and finally of slate, some of which came from quarries near the head of the Sagonaska (Moira) River. The use of slate for projectiles and spear heads may have been introduced about 1000 B. C. by infiltrating Point Peninsular tribes who also appear to have brought in the art of ceramics. Perhaps two thousand years ago these people turned their hand to farming and the gathering of seeds and other wild products for food.

Among the early inhabitants were the Mound Builders. Some of their ancient mounds still to be found upon the shores of the Bay of Quinte were studied as early as the 1850's by T. C. Wallbridge of Belleville. He located and examined perhaps one hundred distinct mounds, mostly in Prince Edward County in the Township of Ameliasburgh between Massassaga Point and Rednersville. Other mounds were found at intervals along the shores of the Bay of Quinte and ascending the River Trent. These mounds had a diameter of approximately eight feet and were less than five feet high. In August, 1859, Mr. Wallbridge opened five of the mounds revealing that at least some of them had been used for burial. Found buried with the skeletons were common fossils, several very much decayed fresh water shells, a few small lumps of iron ochre (perhaps used for painting the face), an eagle breast bone, a bear tusk, and a beaver tooth.

The human remains found in the surface-soil of the mounds indicated that the Mississauga Indians used the mound for burial purposes in the seventeenth century, although skeletons found in a sitting posture in the centre of the mound belonged to some other and far earlier race.

Despite our lack of archaeological data, Hastings County is rich in Indian legend. One of the most significant legends concerns the outstanding Indian leader Deganawedah, who is said to have been born in the middle of the fifteenth century on Eagle Hill about two miles west of Deseronto on the shores of the Bay of Quinte.

Born to a virgin mother of the Huron nation, Deganawedah was hated by his grandmother who tried desperately to kill him three times—by drowning him through a hole in the ice, by burying him in a snow bank, and by throwing him into a blazing bonfire. However, each time when she returned home she found Deganawedah there safe and sound with his mother. Then the Great Spirit spoke to the grandmother saying: "I have sent him to the Iroquois people. Watch him carefully because when he grows up he shall perform a deed that shall never be forgotten."
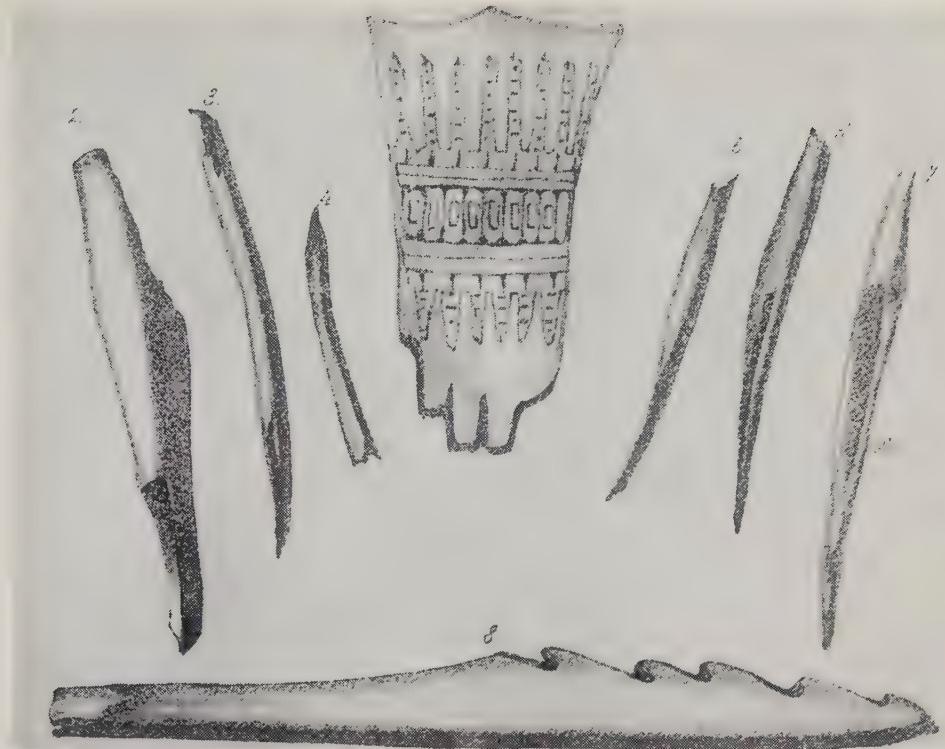
Material obtained from a mound on the shore of the Bay of Quinte by T. C. Wallbridge, 1859, showing (1) back of bone comb (2-7) bone comb teeth and awl-shaped instruments (8) barbed arrow-blade or point of fish-spear.

Cross section of mound excavated in 1859 by T. C. Wallbridge.

When Deganawedah was in his early twenties, he was said to have built a canoe of white rock and to have paddled across Lake Ontario to what is now New York State. There he found several warring tribes whom he addressed: "I come from the Creator to build the Great Peace and to give you the Great Law." When they saw that he travelled in a stone canoe, they knew that he spoke for the Creator. As a result of his efforts and those of his spokesman, Hayonhwatha, the warring tribes formed the Iroquois Confederacy, its object being the imposition of peace and mutual support in case of attack.

Originally the Iroquoian League of "People of the Long House" consisted of the Mohawks (People of the Flint), Onondagas, and Oneidas. By the sixteenth century the Senecas had joined and shortly thereafter the Cayugas. The Tuscaroras did not join until compelled to in the eighteenth century and historically are not considered as one of "The League".

Deganawedah laid down all of the laws which were to be used by the council of this league. Then Deganawedah said: "We have now finished the work for which I am sent here, so I will now cover myself with a bark. But when you fall into hardships and poverty I will return."

To this day the Sacred Mound near Deseronto, where Deganawedah was said to have been born, is regarded with reverence by some Indians. Although no historical records support the theory, it is nevertheless possible that this was one reason why the Mohawk Indians (our first Loyalists) were determined to settle this land after the American Revolution.

The legend of Deganawedah has been popularized by Wallace Havelock Robb. A native of Belleville and the founder of Abbey Dawn near Kingston, Robb has made a study of Indian legends and lore. In his book *Thunderbird* (1949) he suggests that "Dek-a-na-we-da" means "two streams having one source".

Indian Princess Kahn-Tineta Horn with Andrew Maracle at Deganawedah monument near council house on Tyendinaga Reserve.

Robb also refers to the Thunderbird, *rah-way-rosta*, a supernatural eagle believed by some early tribes to cause thunder and lightning; other tribes regarded it as the Bird of Darkness — the great horned owl. The more recent Mohawks have associated the Thunderbird with Eagle Hill near Deseronto where Fish-eagles (ospreys) have been in the habit of nesting, and from which hill (according to legend) one can always see lightning to the north.

Cayuga Village at Kentio as it would have appeared in the mid-seventeenth century (from painting by Reverend Squire).

Robb calls the sanctuary of the Thunderbird *Yo-ya-da-do-konthe*, from which came the word *Kente*. This would later be spelled *Quinty* or *Quinte*, although even in the late nineteenth century older settlers along the front of this district spoke of *Kente* or *Kanty*.

Other historians have disagreed with Robb's interpretation. James Coyne stated (1901) that the name came from the Iroquois word *Kenta* or *Kahenta* meaning meadow or prairie. Reverend Squire rejects the connection between Kente and Quinte believing the origin of Quinte to be *quintus*, the Latin word for fifth, perhaps indicating that this was the fifth point from some central location. According to Reverend Squire, Kente was an Indian village in the northwest corner of Prince Edward County, and its name had a dual meaning — "The Place to Stop" or "The Place to Go Forward", the latter suggesting the position of the village at the centre of the trailways to each of the four cardinal compass points.

Like many local archaeologists and historians, Wallace Havelock Robb suggests that the Indian village of Kente moved from place to place. For a time he believes that the village was located at the site of the city of Belleville and it was in this location that much of the dramatic action of *Thunderbird* takes place.

Chapter 3

A Part of New France

For more than 200 years Hastings County was governed by France. Its white people, though few in number, spoke French, practised Catholicism, and were loyal subjects of the French Kings.

The history of French Canada began in 1534 with the landing of Jacques Cartier on the coast of Gaspe. However, early attempts at settlement were disappointing, and it was only in 1603 with the arrival of the notable figure Samuel de Champlain that French power on the American continent was forcefully established.

A distinguished soldier, sailor, explorer and geographer, Champlain was the first known white man to visit Hastings County. In 1615, he passed down the Trent River system with a band of allied Huron Indians on his way from the Lake Couchiching area to attack a rural Iroquois village south of Lake Ontario.

His description of the land in the vicinity of the lower Trent is of interest:

"It is certain that all this country is very fine and of pleasing character. Along the shores one would think the trees had been planted for ornament in most places. Moreover all these regions in time past were inhabited by savages, who have since been compelled to abandon them out of fear of their enemies. Vines and walnut trees grow there in great

Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635)

Champlain's attack on the Onondaga Village near Oswego, 1615 (from Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain, Paris, 1639.)
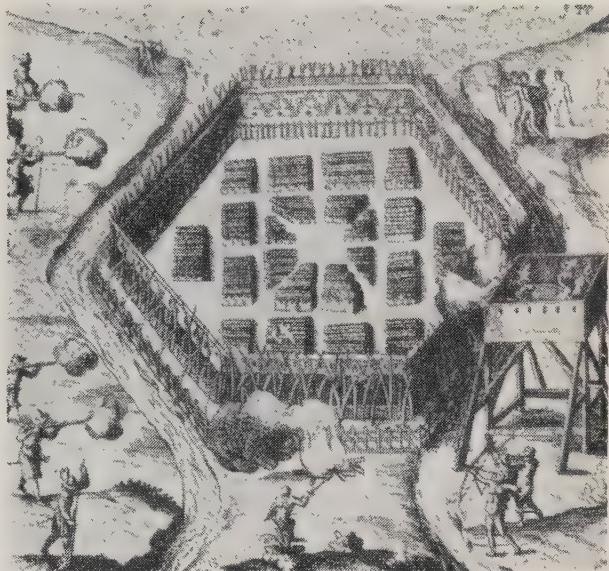
quantity. Grapes here come to maturity, but there remains always a very pungent acidity which one feels in the throat after eating many of them. This proceeds from lack of cultivation. The cleared portion of these regions is quite pleasant. As to game, it is in great abundance in its season. There are also many cranes as white as swans, and other kinds of birds, resembling those of France."

Champlain also described the Indians' method of hunting deer and bear, in which four or five hundred Indians, "shouting and making a great noise" drove the frightened game before them to the water's edge. There, waiting Indians in canoes speedily despatched the stags and other animals.

A popular tradition suggests that on reaching the Bay of Quinte Champlain ascended Trenton's Mount Pelion for a view of the surrounding countryside. Unfortunately, Champlain's journal does not substantiate this tradition, nor do his writings support historian W. C. Mikel's statement that Champlain discovered the site of Belleville, although a recently discovered Champlain map of 1616 indicates that the explorer was at least familiar with the presence of a river in the general vicinity of the Moira.

Arriving in October, 1615, at the lake of the "Entouhonorons" (Lake Ontario) Champlain crossed the eastern end to attack the Onondaga nation of the Iroquois near Oswego. The attack failed, however, the village being too strongly fortified and Champlain's allies lacking both numbers and discipline. Morever, he received two wounds and had to be carried tied up and bound on the back of one of the Indians for several days.

After recrossing to the northern shore of Lake Ontario, Champlain's party proceeded inland, up a river for about twelve leagues and then overland half a league to a lake where camp was made from October 28 to December 4, 1615. This river has been variously identified as the Cataraqui, the Napanee, the Salmon, or the Moira; and the lake has been identified as Loughborough, Stoco, Moira or another lake. The authorities do not agree

and each county claims his wintering place for itself. If this site was in Hastings County, then this small temporary village of two or three log cabins erected by twenty-five Indians is of special local interest. Here they took more than 120 deer, from which they obtained fat for winter, meat for feasting, and skins for clothing.

On December 4, 1615, Champlain's party set out for the Lake Nipissing region, walking on the frozen waterways. On this return trip he certainly passed through the northern parts of Hasting County.

One effect of his voyage was that the Bay of Quinte-Trent System became one of the main French routes for travel from the St. Lawrence to the Upper Lakes. Champlain's journey was also followed by an increased attempt by the Roman Catholic Church to Christianize the Huron Indians of the Georgian Bay area. In 1632, the Jesuits began their intensive missionary work.

In these early years, access to the lands of the Huron was via the Ottawa River. However, following the destruction by the Iroquois nation
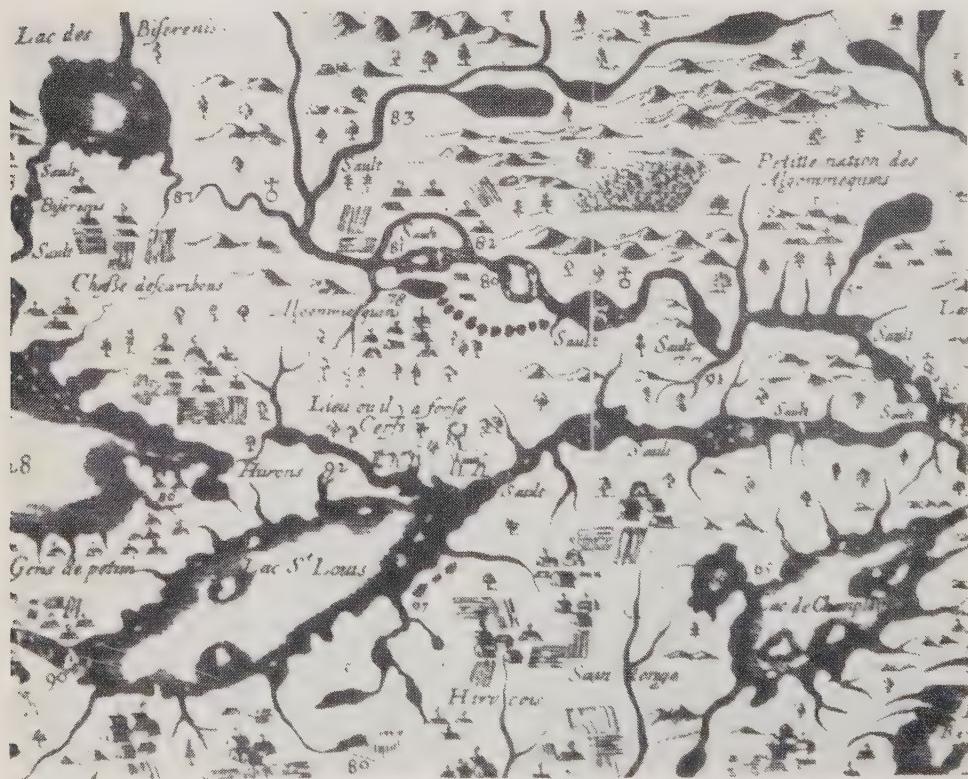
French map (1632) based on Champlain's explorations — showing Lake Ontario (Lac St. Louis), the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers (centre east), Lake Nipissing (northwest corner), Georgian Bay (west centre), and the Trent River system (92). The deer indicate Champlain's hunting grounds, perhaps in Hastings County, in the late fall of 1615. This area is identified as "the place where the deer or stags are plentiful".

of the Jesuit Mission near Midland and the dispersion of the Huron Indians, the upper St. Lawrence route was used to reach Lake Ontario.

By 1666, the reinforced French Army in New France asserted its superiority over the Iroquois. Peace between the French and Iroquois followed. In 1667 representatives of three Iroquois tribes — the Cayugas, Mohawks, and Oneidas — journeyed to Montreal to ask for missionaries. The French, anxious "to expand their influence to the west", readily agreed. The Jesuit Order, long established on this continent, was entrusted with the sending of missionaries to the Oneidas and Mohawks, while the Sulpician Order was to be responsible for the Cayugas.

Two Sulpicians, M. Trouve and M. de Fenelon, were named to establish a mission to the Cayugas living on the north shore of Lake Ontario. From Bishop Laval they received their instructions, which read in part: "Let them fully appreciate that, being sent to work for the conversion of the heathen, they are engaged in the Church's most important work . . . Let their chief care in the present circumstances be to allow no savage to die without baptism in so far as that is possible." Further, Trouve and Fenelon were granted a land concession with the right to erect necessary buildings, to farm, and to fish in the waters from the Bay of Quinte to Georgian Bay.

On October 2, 1668, they left Lachine for their mission field on the Bay of Quinte, hardly knowing what to expect in this wilderness. After twenty-six days of travelling, they reached their destination, the village of Kentio (Quinte).

M. Trouve described their reception in this fashion: "On our arrival at Quinte we were feasted as well as the savages of the place could manage. It is true that the feast consisted only of pumpkins fried with fat, and like stews, which we enjoyed. The pumpkins are excellent in this country and cannot be compared with those of Europe, indeed one might say that it is unjust to call them pumpkins. They are of a great variety of shapes bearing hardly any resemblance to those of France; there are even some so hard that they must be opened with an axe when they are not cooked."

The Cayuga village of Kentio, which the French missionaries spelled "Kente" or "Quinte", had been occupied by the Cayugas for only a short time. They had crossed from the south side of Lake Ontario in 1665, when they had been harassed by their Andastes enemies to the south.

The exact location of their village remains a mystery. On early French maps the name "Kente" or "Quinte" was used for a variety of locations (extending all the way from Port Hope to the eastern extremity of Prince Edward County), including a point, a portage, a lake, a river, various islands, the peninsula, the bay, and the region; and sometimes in such a way that it is difficult to say which was intended. Both "Kentio" and "Kentzio" appear as early villages in the Belleville area. Probably the village of Kentio was in the vicinity of the present village of Consecon, perhaps on the site of the archaeological exploration being conducted by the Rev. Bowen Squire.

Arrival of M. Trouve and M. de Fenelon at the Cayuga village of Kentio, October 28, 1668 (from an oil painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

After resting a little at the village, M. de Fenelon and M. Trouve "took counsel together over the spiritual side" of their work, and sought the aid of the local chieftain, Rohario. At first Rohario hesitated, since it was said that the "washing in water" (baptism) caused children to die. However, the Sulpicians finally overcame his objections by pointing out that Frenchmen were baptized and that this had not killed them.

Soon, the catechism was being taught and in the first winter fifty children were baptized. As none of these baptized children died, the Indians had no further objections to Holy Baptism.

During the winter of 1669 the two Sulpicians were maintained by the Cayugas. Then, in the spring of 1669, M. de Fenelon journeyed down to Montreal to raise money to reimburse the Indians. Financial assistance was soon forthcoming, and it was decided to erect a permanent mission house at the Quinte Mission site. The rector of St. Sulpice in Paris in particular "assumed the expenditures involved in sending to Quinte lay workers to till the land and carpenters to build a wooden mission house and a farm house equipped with a grindstone, agricultural implements, furniture, and other necessities." The rector also sent out cattle, swine, and poultry, while the Intendant of New France, Jean-Baptiste Talon, contributed a small sum of money. In their new home at Quinte, the "Gentlemen of St. Sulpice" relished the "quiet life of the community and its civilized company".

From time to time, Quinte was visited by travellers from New France. In the spring of 1669, Joliet and Galinee visited the Sulpicians. Then in 1672, the noted explorer LaSalle stopped at Quinte.

Unfortunately, the main business at hand—the saving of souls—did not proceed as well as the Sulpicians had hoped. Although the children came

to be baptized, the adults, particularly the men, "remained indifferent, even antagonistic", perhaps because of the church's emphasis on monogamy. The chief blow to the hopes of the Sulpicians was Governor Frontenac's decision in 1673 to build the first French fort on Lake Ontario at Cataraqui, and not at Quinte as had been hoped. With the establishment of Fort Frontenac, Quinte lost much of its importance to the French. No longer was the mission needed as an outpost where the fur trade could be carried on and information obtained about the feelings and movements of the Iroquois Indians. Meanwhile the Indians began to desert the Bay of Quinte for the more profitable hunting grounds on the western shores of Lake Ontario.

The effect of these developments was quite disheartening on the Sulpicians who labored to conduct the missionary work at Quinte. They became very reluctant to proceed with the buildings, which had not yet been completed. Several of the Sulpicians were inclined to leave Quinte and follow the Indians in their wanderings. However, the Superior of the Order at Paris forbade this idea of wandering in the woods as being too hazardous.

The Rape of Kente (from an oil painting by Rev. Bowen Squire). According to Baron de Lahontan, who participated in Denonville's expedition against the Iroquois in 1687, the French soldiers and Indian allies raided Kente and took captive all the leading men. Lahontan was filled with "compassion and horror" when he saw how the captives were treated at Fort Frontenac. Some young savages burned the prisoners' fingers by placing them in their lighted pipe bowls. Other authorities state that the chiefs were seized while attending a conference at Fort Frontenac. In any event, the captives were mistreated and few survived the French galleys.

He instructed them to remain at Quinte and await the return of the Indians from their hunting. The mission's servants, who had engaged in the fur trade to help finance the work at Quinte, were forbidden by the Intendant of New France to do so any longer. Rumours of war among the Iroquois also alarmed the French.

Further disheartened by the silent resentment and contempt of the Indian leaders, by disputes within the order, and by "the ruined buildings. the lack of order . . . the frequent journeys, the dissipation of individuals. and the instability of the Indians". M. Trouve and his loyal companions asked to be withdrawn to France.

By 1678, the Quinte Mission had been reduced to two priests and the "appropriate number of servants". Still the cost of maintaining this missionary venture was considerable and the Montreal congregation went into debt year after year. Accordingly, in March, 1680, the final abandonment of the Sulpician missions on the north shore of Lake Ontario was approved. Two years later, the Sulpicians officially left the Bay of Quinte to concentrate on their missionary work in the Montreal area, and the Jesuits took over the task of ministering to the Indians of the Quinte district. The Jesuit ministry did not call for the continuation of the Quinte Mission, and so this early site of church work in Ontario fell into ruin and decay.

Within a few years of the collapse of the Quinte Mission, the governor of French Canada, the Marquis de Denonville, summoned a number of local Indians to Fort Frontenac. There some forty to fifty men and eighty women and children of the "Kentes" were seized, tortured by the Indian allies of the French, and carried captive in chains to France where they were put to work as galley slaves. As a result, the Iroquois slew several hundred people near Montreal. Fort Frontenac was abandoned in 1689. but was re-established in 1695 by a force of 700 men. However, in the Seven Year War (1756-63), this bastion of French power in the Quinte district fell to the British and the fortifications were burned. Thus ended the period of French control over Hastings County and the Quinte district.

Chapter 4

The First Loyalists

"In Honour, Loyalty and Fear of God"
(motto of the Mohawks of Tyendinaga)

By the Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Years' War in 1763, French possessions on the North American continent (including Hastings County) passed into British hands. However, to prevent Indian wars, the British government closed off this region to settlement until treaties could be arranged with the tribes. Accordingly the former French lands remained largely as before the conquest. Only a few English merchants, mostly from the Albany area of New York, were attracted to Montreal where they shared in the lucrative fur trade and later helped to form the North West Company. By encouraging the Ottawa River route as the means of travel between Montreal and the Upper Lakes, these traders retarded the development of the Quinte-Trent waterway. According to Benjamin Frobisher, a noted partner in the North West Company, what traffic did come up the St. Lawrence from Montreal destined for Lake Huron made use of the Carrying Place of Toronto rather than the Quinte-Trent waterway.

The Quebec Act of 1774 reinforced the view that Canada would remain the habitat of French-speaking Roman Catholics by guaranteeing the French their language, religion, and civil law, among other things. The Quebec Act also transferred the Ohio Valley to Canada, an action that helped to cause the American Revolution (1775-1783). When the efforts of General Washington's armies proved too strong for the British forces, the way was paved for the coming of the United Empire Loyalists, British supporters and sympathizers who sought a new homeland after the Revolution. Thus an act designed to preserve Canada as a French nation under British rule helped to introduce a larger British element into this land.

The first group of Loyalists to arrive in Hastings County were the Mohawks who landed near the present site of the village of Deseronto on May 22, 1784. These Mohawks were the Fort Hunter Mohawks, so named because of their principal village in the Mohawk Valley of New York, Fort Hunter.

As early as 1702 the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had sent a missionary to the Fort Hunter Mohawks and later, after a group of Iroquois chiefs visited Queen Anne's Court in 1710 to plead for British aid and religious instruction, the Queen had presented a valuable sacramental service and a communion cloth to the Mohawk church.

By 1775 these Mohawks were, at least nominally, Anglican Christians and they were ministered to by Rev. John Stuart, later to be called the "Father of the Upper Canada Church". Their villages were described by

Queen Anne (1665-1714), who presented a silver communion service to the Mohawks.
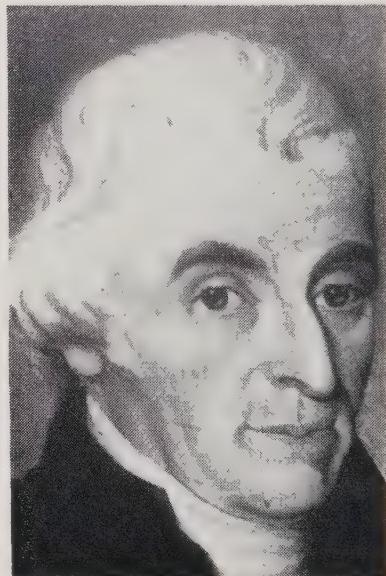
Rev. John Stuart, D.D. (1740-1811), minister to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter before the American Revolution and at Tyendinaga after 1784.

white observers as "unequalled in townsite neatness", and their agricultural methods and housing were basically the same as their neighbours on the fertile lands of the Mohawk Valley.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, both sides had tried to enlist the support of the Mohawks and the Six Nations. Early Mohawk neutrality (1775-76) had been followed by their gradual involvement on the side of the British Crown, and following an engagement with the Oneidas (friends of the Revolutionaries), the Fort Hunter Mohawks moved to Canada where they settled at Lachine near Montreal in the fall of 1777. At Lachine they erected a few temporary huts, a small log church, and a council room. Their minister described this group of less than two hundred warriors, wives and children as being "more civilized in their manners than any other Indians".

Under the superintendency of Daniel Claus, the Fort Hunter Mohawks now took an active part in the war. They fought under Captains John Deserondyou, Isaac Hill and Aaron Hill. During this time they drew apart from Chief Joseph Brant and other Mohawks who had settled at Niagara after being forced from the Mohawk Valley.

When the fighting ceased (about 1781) and it became apparent that the Mohawks could expect little from the pending peace settlement, they sought aid from Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Canada. Believing that the Indians might better be settled in the "Canadian West", leaving the Montreal area and the Maritimes for the other Loyalists, Haldimand sent

Surveyor-General Holland up the St. Lawrence in May, 1783, to locate
and survey a suitable site for the Mohawks. Both Captains Brant and Deser-
ondyou were present when a site was surveyed west of Kingston. A treaty
in October of 1783 secured the front lands between the Gananoque and
Trent rivers from the aboriginal occupants, the Mississauga Indians of
the Bay of Quinte. The Mississaugas retained certain lands (including the
business centre of what is now Belleville) and each man was to receive
yearly presents including "two blankets, cloth for one coat and one pair
of trowsers, two shirts, several small articles, besides a gun, ammunition,
kettles and other things".

Before the move could be made from Lachine to the new site on the
Bay of Quinte, however, Brant and his Niagara followers decided that
they wished to remain closer to that part of the Six Nations which chose
to remain on the American side of the new border. Governor Haldimand
agreed to this request and a site on the Grand River was prepared. But
despite pressure from Haldimand, who felt that the Fort Hunter Mohawks
might better join the others on the Grand River so as to strengthen this
bastion of British power, most of the Fort Hunter Mohawks at Lachine
under Captain Deserondyou decided to follow the original plan. Accord-
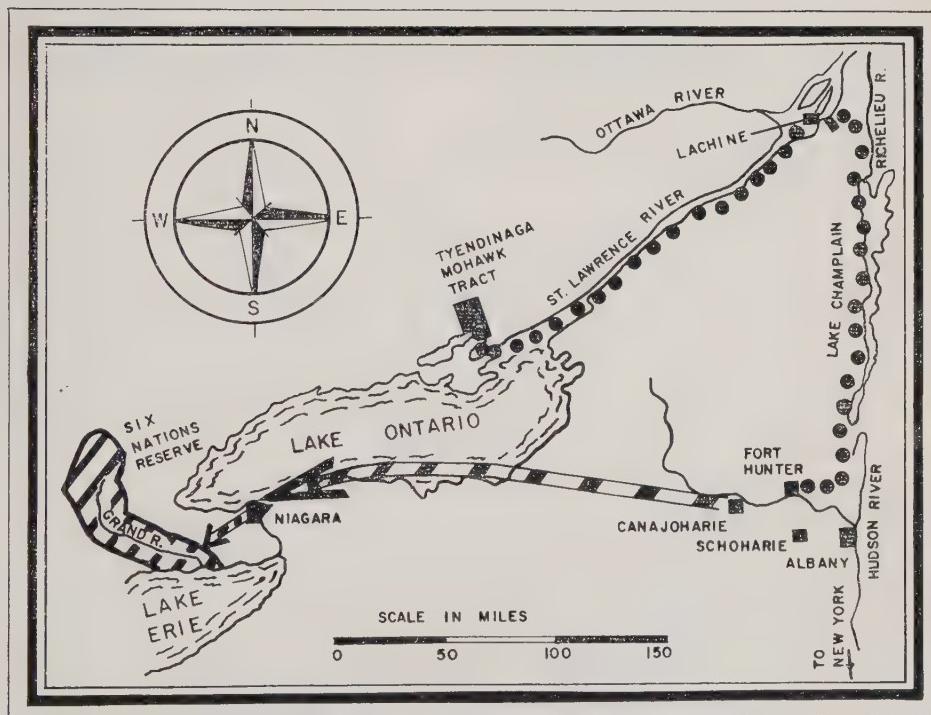
Mohawk routes to Canada, 1777-84. In 1775 the two principal Mohawk settlements in New
York were Canajoharie (pop. 221) and Fort Hunter (pop. 185). A few families were at
Schoharie. In 1777 the Canajoharie Mohawks moved to Niagara and the Fort Hunter Mo-
hawks to Lachine. It was only in 1784 that the two groups moved to their permanent
homes. Many other loyalists also followed these routes.

ingly, on May 22, 1784 (almost four weeks before the celebrated United Empire Loyalist landing at Adolphustown), about one hundred Mohawks landed just west of Deseronto on the Bay of Quinte, less than a mile from the Sacred Hill of the Thunderbird. Soon after the landing a religious service was held and thanks were given for this new land, a ceremony re-enacted each year in striking fashion by the descendants of these original Loyalists.

JOSEPH BRANT (1742-1807), outstanding Mohawk leader on the British side in the American Revolution, who led the Cana-joharie Mohawks to the Grand River in 1784. Tyendinaga Township is called after his native name Thayendanegea. (From the London Magazine, July 1776.)

Under the guidance of Rev. John Stuart, their former pastor at Fort Hunter now rector of St. George's Church in Kingston, a wooden church was erected which was to serve the faithful Mohawks for half a century. In 1792 John Bininger of Adolphustown came as their first school-master; he was succeeded in 1796 by William Bell, a noted pioneer of the Belleville area. The Mohawk School appears to have been the first organized school in Hastings County; it had its share of problems, ending in 1802 when the Indians could not supply the minimum number of scholars — six.

On April 1, 1793, the Mohawk Tract, an area of about 155 square miles between the mouths of the Shannon (Salmon) River and Bowen's Creek, was officially granted to the Six Nations Indians. Only after 1820 were the northern sections transferred back to the Crown and Tyendinaga Township set up. Unfortunately, the original deed to the Mohawk Tract has been missing for more than a century, apparently having been a victim of poor government house-keeping during the Rebellion of 1837.

Chapter 5

The Proud Pioneers

Few in numbers, deprived of their possessions, both neglected and pampered by the British government, the United Empire Loyalists nevertheless formed the backbone of Hastings County.

The Mohawks of Tyendinaga had been the first Loyalists to settle in Hastings County. They were soon followed by non-Indian Loyalists, most of whom, like the Mohawks, also came from New York State and for similar reasons. Many were moved by a sincere desire to remain under the British flag and British institutions. Many had served the Crown as soldiers or government officials. Some were driven away from their homeland by persecution, the tarring and feathering that resulted from being suspected of having aided the British cause or of having sympathized with it. The "flame of patriotism" and British promises of land and other compensation encouraged others to leave the new republic. Perhaps 50,000 Loyalists left the United States for such destinations as the British Isles, the British West Indies, the Maritimes, and Quebec (the last destination attracting perhaps 7,000). However, many people of Loyalist inclination did not leave the United States "but silently made what peace they could with the new order".

The 1783 Treaty ending the Revolutionary War said that the Loyalists were entitled to their lands in the old Thirteen Colonies and could go to the United States and collect debts owing them. Unfortunately, state governments made this recovery of lands and debts almost impossible. Accordingly the British government set up commissions to compensate Loyalists for losses suffered in the old Thirteen Colonies, but it was difficult for a Loyalist to make his claim and prove it, since the commissioners required substantial documentation of losses and met only in London, Halifax, and Montreal. Claims were filed by less than ten per cent of the Loyalists, a

Sir Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) who was in charge of the settlement of the Loyalists in 1784. (Painting by Joshua Reynolds.)
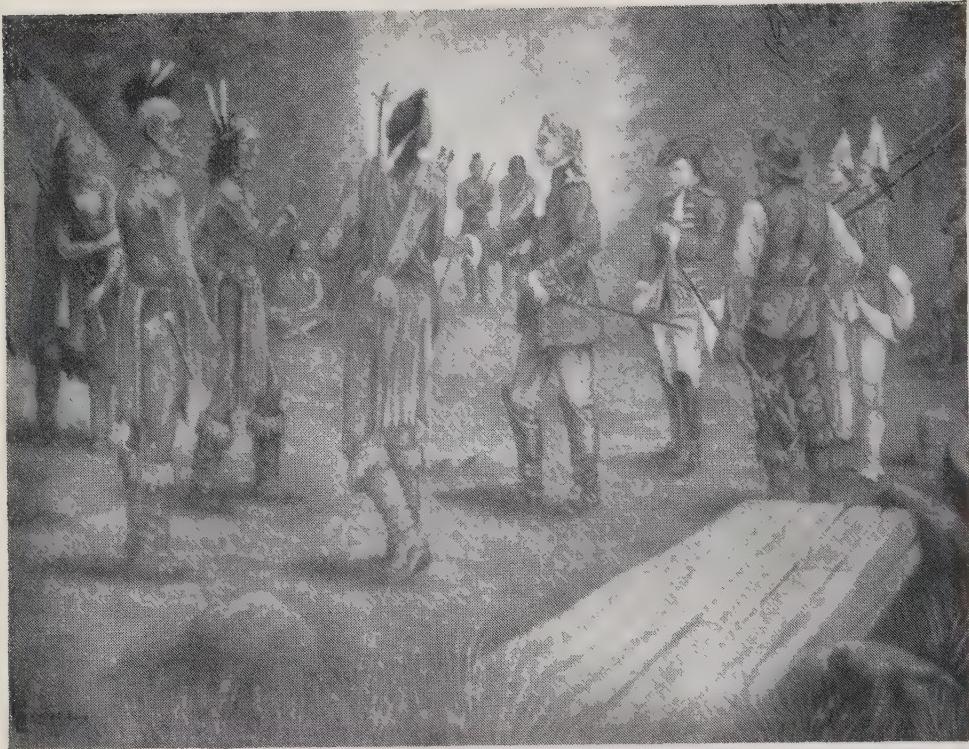
Shotgun Treaty, at the Carrying Place at the head of the Bay of Quinte, September 23, 1787, between Sir John Johnson and the chiefs of the Mississaugas, by which the Crown obtained lands westward and northward from the Bay of Quinte. Preliminary talks had been held in October, 1783, when the land between the Gananoque and Trent rivers had been ceded by the Mississaugas. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

relatively small percentage; however, some of the claims represented several families and many of the Loyalists were young, unmarried men still in their teens. Eighty per cent of these claims were accepted, the British government paying out more than £3,000,000 in compensation.

When Canadian Governor Haldimand began to care for the refugees who had arrived in the Lachine area and other parts of Quebec, his first plan was to settle them in the Maritimes, leaving the western country for the Mohawks and other loyal Indians. Following surveys along the St. Lawrence in 1783, however, Haldimand was impressed by the good quality of the land from the Long Sault to the Bay of Quinte and this, coupled with Loyalist petitions, the belief that the Indians and non-Indian Loyalists could live compatibly side by side, and a desire to strengthen this frontier against possible American encroachment, prompted him to order the surveying of the first five townships in the Bay of Quinte region. The land for these townships between the Cataraqui and the Trent had been obtained by reasonably fair terms from the Mississaugas of the Bay of Quinte in 1783 so that the settlers would have no serious Indian problem, such as faced the American settlers moving westward across the Appalachians.

These surveyed lands were to be a part of the existing seigneurial system, inherited from the period of French rule. Seigneuries were to be

Historic landing of the Loyalists at Adolphustown, June 16, 1784. Many of these early Loyalists later took up land in Sidney, Thurlow, and other "back townships". (Oil painting by Rev. Bowen Squire.)

formed and lots rented from the Crown on the same terms as in the old sections of the province. The allotment of land would be based on a man's status and rank and it was hoped to settle disbanded regiments together, their former commanding officers having the powers of the seigneurs of French Canada. Thus in laying out the townships west from Cataraqui (Kingston) these surveyed areas were numbered rather than named and were thus "To be thought of as numbered fiefs". (In fact, the Loyalists largely ignored the seigneurial tenure and regarded their location tickets as deeds, although deeds were not issued until almost 1800.)

Even before the surveys were completed, groups of settlers began to arrive at Kingston and land was distributed by lot in the spring of 1784. Surveys took time and the Loyalists became impatient. Food shortages caused by the heavy influx of settlers also frayed tempers.

In 1784 the first five townships along the Bay of Quinte (Marysburgh being the most westerly) were surveyed. The original survey of the front townships provided for a sixty foot road across the front as well as a forty foot road allowance at the second line. The range of lots between the first and second lines was a "concession", a term derived from French practices. Each concession was divided into two-hundred acre lots with provision for crossroads every two or three miles.

The various disbanded companies with their officers were settled separately in these first five townships west to Marysburgh. The 8th (Sidney)

and 9th (Thurlow) were not required for group settlement and their surveying was left for another three years. Officers and non-commissioned officers were allowed to take part of their "additional lands" in the first concession of Sidney and Thurlow townships, and there was some squatting on land in these townships, since they were considered "a remote part of the earth". This attitude persisted and for several years the families that came from the United States would stop at the older townships, "work out" or rent land, and only then move to permanent locations in the back townships (Sidney and Thurlow).

During the early years of settlement the Loyalists arriving in Canada were supplied by the government with such rations as flour, pork, a limited quantity of beef, some butter and salt, "clothes for three years, or until they were able to provide those articles for themselves", a short handled ship axe, a hoe and spade, nails, and other items. A plough and a cow were to be supplied for every two families and a gun and a set of carpentry tools for every five families.

The discontinuance of much of this assistance unfortunately coincided with a period called the "scarce year", the "hungry year" or the "hard summer". This period commenced in 1787 and lasted until 1789. It was caused by drought conditions and a poor crop, and complicated by

Clearing the land. The pioneer farmer with his yoke of oxen removes a stump before seeding the land. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire.)

a severe winter. (Snow lay upon the ground from December until April at a depth of four or five feet.) Moreover, for two consecutive years the deer were almost completely destroyed by wolves and extensive forest fires. Even the usual supply of fish failed. The few cattle and horses were killed for food and there are stories of soup bones being passed from house to house to provide nourishment. One family in Thurlow set out for Kingston on foot seeking food there; along the way their only food was bran, mixed with water and cooked on heated flat stones. Several persons are said to have "died of starvation".

Wolves were a problem for the pioneer. They slaughtered the sheep and made wool scarce. After the provincial government in 1793 introduced a bounty of four dollars for each wolf killed, a Kingston man is said to have bred wolves to obtain the reward. Because ammunition was scarce in the 1790's, Ruliff Ostrum of Sidney Township built a log trap in the shape of a pyramid with a small opening at the top. Bait was placed inside, and the wolves who ventured in through the narrow opening were trapped. Ostrum is said to have taken over a hundred pelts in one winter.

As the population gradually grew along the bay, settlers began to protest about the "rigorous Rules, Homages and Reservations, and Restrictions of the French Laws and Customs". The demand grew for separation from the French of eastern Canada. Because of the Loyalist influx, New Brunswick had been separated from Nova Scotia. Why not separate the Loyalist settlements in "Western Canada" from Quebec? This demand was met partially in 1788 when a government proclamation set up four new districts in the Loyalist settled areas of "Western Canada". The Mecklenburg District (taking its name from a German state) reached from the Gananoque River to the Trent River and like the others it was given a court of common pleas to administer English civil law. Richard Cartwright, a prominent Kingston business and political figure, was named judge and Charles Stewart was the first sheriff. Also, a District Land Board was set up to process land grant applications, thereby giving the new settlements more independence.

The Constitutional Act (often called the Canada Act), 1791, further satisfied the Loyalists on the Bay of Quinte by preparing the way for the division of Canada into two colonies — Lower Canada corresponding to the present province of Quebec, and Upper Canada corresponding to Ontario. Upper Canada was to have its own legislative assembly elected by freeholders holding land worth at least forty shillings per year (comparable to contemporary British voting regulations). Lands were to be set aside for the support of a "Protestant clergy", and a freehold system was granted so that Loyalists could now own land instead of leasing or renting it. The Constitutional Act pleased the Loyalists, since they had been used to owning their own land and voting for the elected assemblies in the Thirteen Colonies.

John Graves Simcoe was named first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada after the new colony was created in 1791, and as such he was no

idle figure-head. By his historic proclamation of February 7, 1792, Simcoe
laid down the basic features of the land-granting system, namely two-
hundred acre lots (in keeping with the policy followed in the original
surveys of 1784), one-seventh of all land granted to be reserved for support
of a "Protestant clergy", and one-seventh of all land granted to be reserved
for Crown use. Believing that many Loyalists still remained in the United
States whose presence in Canada would strengthen this colony, Simcoe
also offered free land to all such persons provided that they took a
loyalty oath and undertook to clear at least five acres, build a house and
open a road across the front of their lands. This policy had the desired
effect — it attracted so-called late Loyalists from the United States; however,
it angered some of the original Loyalists who felt that the newcomers were
opportunists, attracted only by offers of free land. This distrust and rivalry
can be seen in Belleville's early society.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's settlement plans led to additional land
surveys. Whereas in May, 1788, the first concessions of Sidney and
Thurlow townships were the only surveyed county lands, by the mid-1790's
most of the lands in the southern tier of townships (except Tyendinaga)
had been completed. In 1793-94, surveyor William Hambly commenced
work on parts of Rawdon and Huntingdon. His field notes relate many
problems faced by early surveyors and settlers: namely, intense cold,
brittle axes which broke and could not be repaired, the difficulty of ob-
taining provisions, the inadequacy of pioneer footwear which was cut
to pieces by the crust on the snow, and the ever-present Indians. On
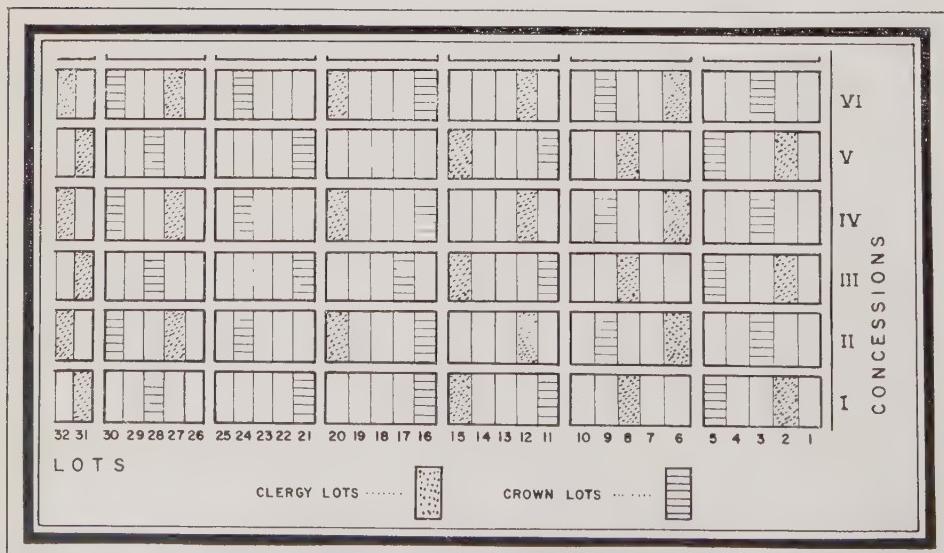
Survey of the southern part of Madoc Township in 1820 showing the lots reserved for Crown
and Church use. The plan followed the general instructions laid down by Lieutenant-Governor
Simcoe in 1792. The surveyor, John Ryder, estimated the total land surveyed in the eleven
concessions at 60,000 acres, of which 3,450 acres went in payment to him.

February 7, 1794, Hambly wrote: "Three Indians came to our camp, behave very civilly while they tarried, and departed peaceably: although a Mr. Reed h'ad told my people, the Indians threatened any Surveying party who should come their way, which gave a damp to the spirits of the party . . . till this happened, which gave Cheerful countenance to the whole."
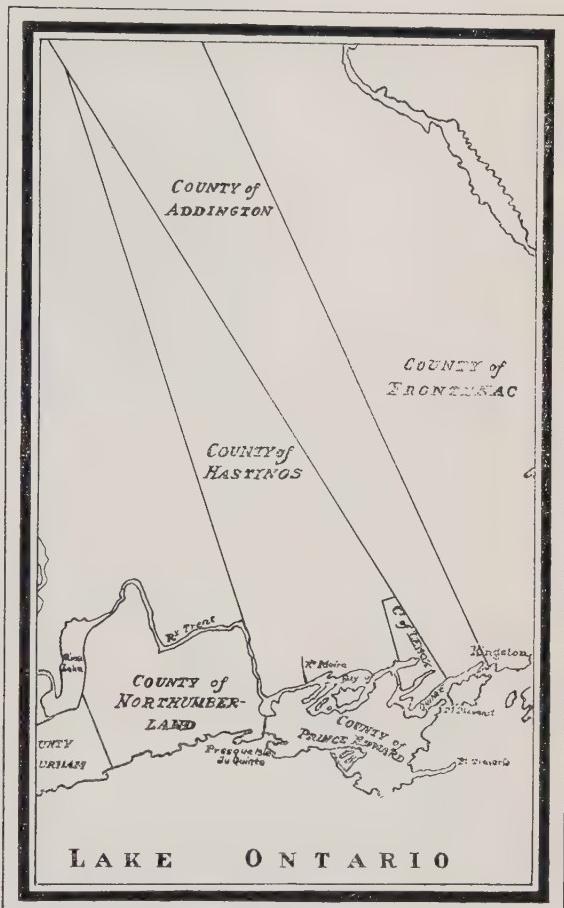
As originally described in Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's 1792 proclamation, Hastings County proved to be triangular in shape. This was soon corrected and Addington County lost much of its land to Hastings.

In 1792, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe established the boundaries for the first counties of Ontario. Hastings County was set up with its southern boundary as the Bay of Quinte, its eastern boundary as Lennox County, its western boundary as a line projected northward from the east bank of the Trent River, and its northern boundary as the Ottawa River. The purpose of this county system was to provide constituencies for the election of members to the provincial legislative assembly; local government was not to be organized along county lines for another half century. A further change was introduced in 1798 when the Midland District was established, composed of the counties of Hastings, Prince Edward, Lennox and Adding-

SIR FRANCIS RAWDON-
HASTINGS (1754-1826)

ton, and Frontenac. The County of Hastings consisted of Sidney, Thurlow, Rawdon, Huntingdon, and Hungerford townships in addition to the Mohawk Tract. At that time Hastings County was said to extend from the Bay of Quinte to the northern limits of the province, however, it should be remembered that the Hudson's Bay Territories lay north of Canada and therefore our county did not extend (as one historian suggests) to Hudson's Bay or the north pole.

Hastings County and three of its early townships were named in honour of the family of Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754-1826), a distinguished military leader in the American Revolution. A descendant of the Earls of Huntingdon and the Barons of Hungerford, he was created Baron Rawdon in 1783. His family took its name from the town of Hastings in Sussex, and he was created Marquess of Hastings in 1817, fifteen years after our county was named. Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe had been comrades in arms and warm personal friends.

Thus the coming of the Loyalists had its impact on Hastings County. Limited settlement was commenced; a beginning was made to the clearing of forests and the establishment of commerce; the British tie was strengthened; a system of English laws and land tenure was introduced; the county received its name; and, as we shall see presently, Belleville was on its way to becoming the county town.

Chapter **6**

A Settlement at Meyers' Creek

> *From the Loyalist period we inherit the settlement at*
> *Meyers' Creek — the beginning of our present county*
> *town of Belleville.*

The site of Belleville has been occupied for many years. In Indian times, according to Canada's epic poet Wallace Havelock Robb, the village of Kente may have been located here. Certainly the Indians used the site as a temporary campsite and as a burial ground. To the Mississaugas the site was *Asaukhknosk* (the place where the rushes end), and the river entering the Bay of Quinte at this point was known as the *Sagonashkokan* or *Saganaskion* (later shortened to *Sagonaska*). To the early French explorers and mapmakers it was the *Ohate* or *Barbu* (Catfish) River.

When Thurlow Township was first surveyed in 1787, lots 4 of concessions I and II (including what is to-day the business centre of Belleville) were reserved for the Mississaugas of the Bay of Quinte "ostensibly for an Indian burying ground", although the real burying ground is supposed to have been Zwick's Island just west of the river's mouth. In the early years of white settlement the Mississaugas are said to have wintered on this four hundred acre reserve, ascending the Moira River to Lake Stoco each March to hunt and fish. Every year a canoe from Kingston brought the Indians presents of blankets, cloth, guns, and kettles as partial payment for surrendering the lands along the Bay of Quinte to the British government in 1783.

After 1784 the first Loyalists established themselves along the front townships of Hastings County, although only Alexander Chisholm and

The residence of Alexander Chisholm, Lot 37, Con. 1, Sidney Township, built in the style of a Scottish crofter's cottage in the early 1800's.

Captain George Singleton are likely to have had their houses close to the river. In Thurlow Township, Alexander Chisholm held lots 3 of concessions I and II, a section of land including much of west Belleville. Like many early settlers Chisholm engaged in some Indian trade. Captain Singleton's land, lots 5 and 6 in the first two concessions, took in much of eastern Belleville. With his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Israel Ferguson, Singleton opened a trading post on the east side of Moira River, possibly on the lot reserved for the Mississaugas. Because he was capable, intelligent, humane, and able to get along with Indians, his trading venture prospered. From about 1785 to 1790 the small community was known as Singleton's Creek and the river was referred to as Singleton's River, leading some historians to regard Singleton as the founder of Belleville. Both Singleton and Ferguson are believed to have died in 1789.

As early as the summer of 1787 William Bell opened a small trading post in the Belleville area. This post, which at different times was in Sidney and Thurlow Townships but always near the mouth of the river, conducted trade with the Indians in such goods as tomahawks, clasp knives, beaver spears, and scalping knives. To the early white settlers Bell sold such articles as farm implements, garden seeds, and tobacco, which were supplied him by Kingston merchant John Ferguson, who in turn had contacts with Montreal merchants. Bell later turned from trading to teaching, instructing the Mohawks at Tyendinaga from 1796 to 1802.

The Belleville area received its first main group of settlers in 1789 when some fifty persons crossed over from Prince Edward County to settle in Thurlow. Most of them went up the river five miles to the neighbourhood of Foxboro where they formed "a compact settlement". Among these settlers was John Taylor who shortly returned to the front of Thurlow where he purchased one hundred acres of Captain Singleton's property. For many years Belleville's east hill would be called Taylor Hill and the Taylor Burying Ground, the first one in Belleville and perhaps the county would be the final resting place of many of the hardy pioneers.

As the population at the mouth of the river increased, the community began to acquire the conveniences of similar hamlets in pioneer Ontario. About 1789, John Simpson provided the inhabitants with a tavern which soon became the social centre. Here the early political meetings were held, the local militia was organized, errant militia men faced court martial, the Masons first met, the all-too-few parties and dances were held, and the occasional traveller was made to feel at his ease. The tavern gained a reputation for the strength and purity of the whiskey dispensed by the host. After Simpson's death, his widow Margaret carried on the business, purchasing the necessary whiskey from William Bell at five shillings per gallon. She was the only woman tavern owner in the Midland District and apparently well able to meet competition from at least three other local taverns in the early 1800's.

Simpson's tavern stood on the south side of Dundas Street near Front Street, and this area was one of the two centres from which Belleville grew.

Simpson's Tavern, erected about 1789 and probably the first tavern in Thurlow Township. Until about 1870 this building stood near the intersection of Dundas and Front streets.

The second centre was on Station Street (or Mill Street, as it was called in our early history) near the site of the present Belleville Creameries. Here about 1790 on land purchased for one hundred dollars from John Taylor, Captain John W. Meyers established Belleville's first industries- a lumber mill and grist mill powered by water obtained by Meyers from damming the Moira. For several years the grist mill was the only one between the Napanee and Don rivers. Settlers came from as far as Port Hope to have their grain ground into grist, "the grain being dragged through the pathless woods on rough sleds". No longer did settlers from Hastings County have to take their grain to the earlier Kingston, Napanee or Glenora mills.

Captain Meyers' life was exciting, though not always easy. A native of the Albany area in New York, he had been caught up in the American Revolutionary War, and displayed a good deal of intelligence and bravery on the British side. He was feared by the American Revolutionaries because of his ferocity and cunning night raids. Arriving on the Bay of Quinte about 1784-85, he obtained two lots at Kingston and then squatted on the front of Sidney before that township was surveyed. When an attempt at mill-building just east of Trenton was foiled by a poor water supply, he moved to the banks of the Moira. It was his hope to be allowed to build his mill closer to the river's mouth; however, the sought-after land was part of the Mississauga Indian reserve. Although Meyers apparently worked out a 999 year lease with the Indians for this land whereby the Indians would receive an annual payment of one gallon of rum and "fifty weight of flour", the government refused to recognize the claim. Accordingly Meyers' property was some distance from the main settlement at the mouth of the river.

About the year 1794, Captain Meyers built a substantial brick house on the brow of the hill (Mount Pleasant Road) overlooking his mill
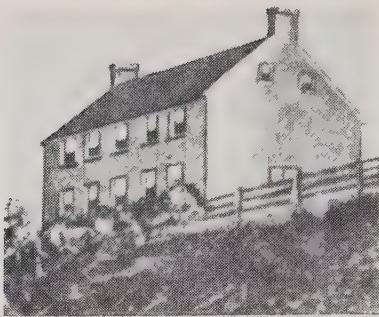
Residence of Captain John Meyers, erected 1794, one of Ontario's earliest brick houses.

site. Described as a "quaint edifice", this house was built from bricks baked in Sidney Township at the Meyers Place east of Trenton. This was among the first brick houses in Upper Canada, and here the genial and hospitable Meyers entertained such dignitaries as John Strachan, later Bishop of Toronto and the founder of secondary and university education in Ontario. The furniture for the house was obtained from Albany and probably brought from Kingston by Meyers aboard a flat-bottomed bateau which he operated on the Bay of Quinte. From 1793 to 1816 both the river and settlement were usually referred to as "Meyers' Creek", although the official name for the river during the latter part of this period was the Moira, so named after Francis Rawdon-Hastings who was created Earl of Moira in 1793. At times the village was called the "Town of Moira" or the "Village of Thurlow".

Probably more than any other pioneer of Hastings County, Captain John Meyers has become a legend. At the time of the American Revolution, mothers in New York State told their children of the terrible "Hans Walter-meyer" (John Meyers) who would get them if they weren't good. The story is told that during the revolution Meyers set out for Canada accompanied by his brother-in-law, John Kruger, and his faithful old dog. The dog became so weak that Meyers had to carry him. Kruger, on the verge of collapse asked why the dog should be carried. "Oh," replied Meyers, "we may have to eat him yet." Fortunately the travellers were saved by a friendly Indian with a supply of bear meat. According to another legend, Meyers was the first white man to visit Lake Mazinaw and view the great cliff at Bon Echo in Lennox and Addington County. Near Bon Echo his Indian guides showed him a fabulous treasure cave rich in native silver. Canadian writer Merrill Denison states that the guides then repented their disclosure and dumped the captain out of the canoe on the return voyage to Belleville. Meyers contracted pneumonia and reached home in a dying condition. On his deathbed he is said to have drawn a map to show the location of the treasure, however, no trace of the cave has been found. Another version of this legend explains that Meyers sought, but did not find, the cave; a descendant, John Bleecker of Trenton, is credited with having discovered the cave in central Hastings around 1850. Knowledge of the cave's location died with him, although the story of Meyers' and Bleecker's Cave has become a county legend.

Captain John Meyers and many other local Loyalists were affected by the provincial government's decision in 1793 to abolish slavery grad-

ually. Not only were no new slaves to be imported, but also all children born henceforth of slaves would be free after age twenty-five, their children in turn to be completely free. Existing contracts were not affected, and slavery might have continued for another generation had not most of the slave owners, such as the Meyers, Wallbridge, and Leavens families, granted their slaves freedom before the time limit. This represented a considerable financial sacrifice, since slaves sold locally for up to three hundred dollars.

Shortly after 1800, Simon and James McNabb came from Scotland, purchased land from Alexander Chisholm, and built a second mill dam and mills, including a small cloth factory, on the west bank of the river near Meyers Dam. This competition between the McNabbs and Meyers, accentuated by developments during the War of 1812, would lead to Meyers' name being removed from the settlement at the mouth of the Moira.

Along with this somewhat limited commercial expansion, Meyers' Creek developed in other ways. About 1800 the Hastings militia was formed at Belleville and in 1801 the Masonic Lodge commenced. The first bridge across the Moira, a floating structure placed near Dundas Street, was erected only to be carried off by floodwaters; about 1806 it was replaced by a more permanent structure at Bridge Street. Ferry service was commenced between Belleville and Hennessey's Point in Prince Edward County.

By 1810 John Watkins was operating a school in a small frame building near the present market; and Dr. Seth Meacham, who had resided in Sidney and Thurlow since 1801, was physician to the growing population. Other prominent inhabitants included Captain John McIntosh (store-keeper) and Roswell Leavens (blacksmith). Both John Taylor and Captain Meyers were regarded as living outside the community.

Progress during this period was hindered by the settlers' inability to get title to their homes and businesses, many of which were located on the Mississauga Indian reserve land (lot 4). John Meyers had made several efforts to get a grant or lease of all or part of this land, and several petitions from other settlers beginning in 1807 requested the government to lay out a town plot on the reserve, but to no avail. The request of James McNabb and others that such a town plot could be arranged, because few Indians used the lot, was rejected. However, privately the government was preparing to act. On November 8, 1810, the surveyor-general reported to the lieutenant-governor that the amount of land set aside for the Indian burying ground, over four hundred acres, "was a preposterous quantity for the said purpose". Since the Mississaugas also held lots 28, 29, 30, and 31 in the broken front of Thurlow, he advised that the situation appeared "to be proper for a Town" at the mouth of the Moira. In September of 1811, he submitted (in quadruplicate) plans for the purchase of the reserve from the Mississaugas and for the proposed village survey. Futher action was delayed by the outbreak of the War of 1812, a war which was to have dramatic consequences for Meyers' Creek.

Chapter 7

A Call to Arms

*(or the extent to which a struggle for survival brings out
the best in people).*

The War of 1812 gave the settlers of Hastings County an opportunity
to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown. Whether Indian, Loyalist,
or Late-Loyalist—all helped to preserve this region from American aggres-
sion.

Ever since the rebellious Thirteen Colonies had proclaimed their in-
dependence in 1776 and American forces had failed in the attempt to
wrest Canada from British hands, the possibility of renewed American
invasion attempts had never been far from the minds of the early settlers
along the Bay of Quinte. The Napoleonic Wars greatly increased this threat,
since to prevent American ships from selling contraband to the Napoleonic
nations of Europe and sheltering deserters from the British navy, Britain
imposed a blockade and insisted on the right to search American vessels
on the High Seas. Resulting American anger, a growing desire by a group
of ardent American patriots (the War Hawks) to annex the fertile lands
of Upper Canada, and a belief that Canadian traders were stirring up Indian
wars in the American West, led the United States government to declare
war on Great Britain in June, 1812.

Local preparations for the eventuality of war had begun as early as
1798 when John Ferguson of Kingston was named Lieutenant of a proposed
Hastings County militia. His trading associate, William Bell, was appointed
as adjutant, and it was Bell who arranged for county settlers to attend
a meeting "for the purpose of enrolment" on a Saturday morning in Dec-
ember at the Sidney Township home of David Harris. The resulting group
of volunteers met at Wallbridge's common in Belleville every other Satur-
day "for platoon exercises".

Little government aid being available to the militia at this time, the
new officers took steps to purchase their own uniforms, the coats being
red with blue facings, long yellow buttons and white linings. This was a
colourful and costly uniform, in keeping with neither the depressed con-
ditions of the times nor the possibility of forest warfare. In 1800 a Loyal
Milita Association for Hastings County was organized with meetings being
held from time to time to improve the militia standards; the annual meet-
ings were scheduled to fall on the King's birthday, apparently a time of
celebration and banquet.

As the war drew near, the militia drilled faithfully with the result that
Major General Isaac Brock wrote:

"The militia, from the Bay of Quinti down to Glengary, is the
most respectable of any in the province. Among the officers several are on

half pay, and still retain a sound military spirit. Those from the Bay of Quinti would be properly stationed at Kingston . . ." Early in 1812, Brock instructed local militia commanders to train special flank companies, the object being "to have constantly in readiness a force composed of Loyal, Brave, and Respectable Young Men". Officers were advised to forsake their newly purchased uniforms and on the field to dress like the men in order "to avoid the bad consequence of a conspicuous Dress". Brock also appointed loyal citizens to limit "seditious attempts or designs to disturb the tranquility of the province". William Bell, John Fraser, and John McIntosh of Thurlow, and Abel Gilbert of Sidney were the four named locally to keep a sharp eye out for spies and to report the presence of any aliens.

Sir Isaac Brock (1769-1812), defender of Upper Canada in the War of 1812. (Painting by J. W. Forster).

    With the outbreak of war in June, 1812, the local militia responded very well. Whole families turned out for service. Sidney Township weaver Francis Vandervoort and his five sons, the youngest only fifteen, joined the militia. Four Ketcheson brothers (sons of Colonel William Ketcheson) enlisted and the youngest, seventeen-year-old Elijah, was promoted to sergeant.
    On June 29, the Hastings militia was ordered to Kingston, an important military town and hence a likely target for American invaders. By mid-July when the attack had not come, most of the officers and men were allowed to return to Hastings County, being instructed to hold themselves "in Readiness, to return at a minute's warning".
    Forty-seven officers and men of the Hastings militia remained at Kingston for guard and fatigue duty, however, and in September they were reviewed by General Brock who expressed satisfaction at their appearance. On the same occasion the militiamen joined the citizens of Kingston in expressing their loyalty to the British commander. Tradition persists that, on

his way west from Kingston to York and Queenston, Brock journeyed by birch canoe and stayed one night at Belleville, perhaps in Captain John McIntosh's public house on lower Front Street or in Dr. Meacham's residence (the Ponton House) or in Alexander Chisholm's House (the Mc-Dougall house), the last two located on the Trent Road. According to one legend, Brock spent a night in a tavern operated by Ruliff Ostrum on the Trent Road. There he took Ostrum's infant grandson from his pioneer cradle and kissed him; the baby was christened Isaac Brock Ostrum. Unfortunately no historical evidence supports this tradition.

On March 27, 1813, the Bay of Quinte men remaining at Kingston were ordered to return home. Officers were instructed to conduct regular drill and to have blanket and provisions ready in case of a threatened attack on Kingston. In the spring of 1814 it became known that American Secretary of War Armstrong intended that Kingston should be the "main objective of the American campaign in 1814", and this threat led to a force of local militia under Captain John McIntosh being stationed at Kingston's Point Henry. This force consisted of about two hundred men of whom forty-two deserted during the month, hardly a proud record.

For most of the years 1813 and 1814, however, the local militia was used to help move supplies. In April, 1814, for example, Colonel William Bell was ordered to arrange for forty officers and men to manage the King's bateaux and move provisions to Queenston Heights. . The prolonged absence from home, strict military discipline, and a loss of interest in the war by the end of 1813 made it difficult to raise forces for such purposes. Even Captain John W. Meyers was somewhat disturbed by the powers of confiscation employed by members of the commissariat department, these men having power to take articles at "fair valuation" when the owners held out for high prices. Captain Meyers became more disenchanted with the war effort after an unfortunate incident in 1814. On April 4, the settlement at the mouth of the Moira overflowed with the troops of the 19th Dragoons. Accommodation was taxed to capacity, and four dragoons were billeted in Captain Meyers' house. They obtained liquor and became troublesome. Two dragoons went to the bedroom where Captain and Mrs. Meyers lay very ill and demanded provisions to which they were not entitled. Meyers drew a pistol and told them to leave the room, which they did. He then bolted the door, but the pair returned, armed with their swords, and broke down the door. Meyers discharged his pistol in an unsuccessful attempt to scare them away. One soldier attacked Meyers with a sword, swearing that he would cut off his head. The captain's head was cut; he and his wife were bruised by clubs; and another occupant of the house, a Mrs. Richardson, suffered a severe head wound. Fortunately a sober dragoon corporal arrived on the scene in time, and the drunken soldiers were disarmed and placed in custody.

Other problems developed over the placing of soldiers in private homes. Captain John McIntosh charged that he was required by James McNabb to billet more than his fair share. McNabb replied that his billet-

The "Prince Edward", built in 1798 by Henry Murney of Glenora and later armed for service in the War of 1812. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

ing of soldiers "marching past this place" was done as "fairly and equitably as possible", McNabb putting up many soldiers in his own house.

Nonetheless, Hastings County made a real contribution to the war effort by supplying pork, flour, beef, whiskey, shingles, and square timber to the government troops stationed at Kingston. The arrangements for the purchase and shipments of these goods were handled at Belleville by James and Simon McNabb, under the supervision of Captain Robert Wilkins. From his headquarters at the Carrying Place, at the head of the Bay of Quinte, Captain Wilkins controlled the movement of all boats and supplies through this area, an important role since the war route from Kingston lay through the Bay of Quinte to the Carrying Place where the boats were hauled across wood rollers to Brighton Bay on Lake Ontario. This route was used more than the land route through the Tyendinaga Reserve, Thurlow and Sidney, because the route north of the Bay of Quinte crossed several rivers where bridges of a reliable nature were yet to be built.

Carrying Place became so important that Wilkins claimed to have issued in a single day as many as 6,000 rations to soldiers and prisoners. All troops and munitions passed that way after October, 1813, when the Americans were in possession of Lake Ontario.

No American attack was made on the Carrying Place, although nearby Presqu'ile was the target of a military operation. In July, 1814, two enemy

vessels, one a gun boat, arrived at Presqu'ile Harbour and attackers armed with cutlasses and pistols burned Gibson's store house and several boats. At least one hostage was taken by the enemy. Fearing a similar attack on his depot, perhaps by "disafected vagabons" who inhabited the area, Captain Wilkins asked that a company of soldiers be located permanently at the Carrying Place.

Carrying Place's prominence continued after the war since all "three years' men" who were discharged and received one hundred acres of land and a year's provisions for their efforts in the war had to obtain these provisions every three months from Wilkins' store. Moreover, there was some military talk in 1815 of fortifying the Carrying Place as a supply depot in case of further hostilities.

Although no warships were constructed in Hastings County for use on Lake Ontario, this area had an interest in the naval struggle. Among the British warships on the lake was the "Earl of Moira", a schooner built at Kingston in 1805 and named for the family after whom the Moira River was named.

The struggle had an interesting effect on the county's population. Immediately after the declaration of war, twenty men from Hastings County moved to the United States. Presumably many of the twenty were recent immigrants to Canada whose sympathies were with the Americans; most were members of leading pioneer families, and their flight must have embarrassed their remaining relatives. The end of the war had a more favourable effect on local population. The provincial government rewarded its faithful soldiers with land grants, and forty-seven disbanded soldiers from the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles located in Thurlow Township while another seventeen settled in Sidney. Prominent among these arrivals were the family names of Bowen, Maybe, Reynolds, and Wellbanks in Thurlow and Anderson, Cronk, Hurley, and Sharp in Sidney.

Thus did the war affect Hastings County. The militia was called out for Kingston garrison duty and transport service; food prices increased greatly; lumbermen, farmers, millers and distillers benefited from this favourable market; and the way was paved for the adoption of the name "Belleville" to describe the settlement at the mouth of the Moira.

NOTICE

Ran away from the subscriber, a Servant black woman, by the name of BET, with a male child, two years old and upwards. Whoever will return the said Wench and boy, to the subscriber, or give information, so that she and he may be brought back, shall receive six pence reward, and no charges paid. All persons are strictly forbid harboring or trusting him on my account, under the penalty of the law. R. Leavens, Belleville, 29th September, 1818.

Although slavery was abolished gradually after 1793, some negro "servants" remained in the district until about 1820, as this advertisement from a Kingston paper shows.

Belleville Named

> *Thurlow Village, Singleton's Creek, Meyers' Creek*
> *Town of Moira, Village of Moira — these are the for-*
> *mer names of Belleville.*

The darkest period of the War of 1812 took place at the end of May, 1813. Desertions from the militia were common and in many instances settlers refused to provide food and assistance to British and Canadian troops. Among those rumoured to have failed to aid the war effort was Captain John W. Meyers. He was said to have refused to sell food supplies to the Kingston garrison at a reasonable price, to have taken his pleasure sleigh apart and hidden the pieces so that it could not be requisitioned for army use, and to have deserted a wagonload of supplies he had been instructed to drive to York (Toronto) by unhitching his team at Brighton and returning to Belleville. These charges were brought before the provincial Lieutenant-Governor in 1815 by James McNabb (Meyers' leading commercial rival in the community) and William Bell, a merchant and school-keeper. They asked the government not to grant any further "honours" to Meyers who they said had betrayed the Crown. In levying these charges, they were guilty of ignoring Meyers' major role in the development of Belleville and also his advanced age, since, in the winter of 1813 when he was to have driven the wagon of supplies to York, he was over sixty-eight years old. Accompanying affidavits certified that Meyers had acted as McNabb and Bell charged, and the result was to lessen the possibility of Meyers' name being permanently attached to the settlement.

At the same time James McNabb again brought the matter of Lot 4 in the first concession of Thurlow to the government's attention. Because the Indians were no longer using this reserve to any extent and because many settlers had squatted on this land near the east bank of the river, McNabb sought a survey to lay out a town plot. The settlers who had built on this land supported McNabb's plan and opposed Captain Meyers' continuing attempts to get for himself a grant or lease to all or part of the reserve.

Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore's answer was to order the purchase of this Indian reserve from the Mississaugas and early in 1816 to instruct the Surveyor-General to have a "Villiage plot" laid out at the mouth of the Moira. This first survey was made by Samuel Wilmot from March 2 to April 28, 1816, at a cost of £134. 12 s. 6 d. The original survey included the whole of Lot 4 although only part of that area was divided into town lots. The divided section lay between the bay, Front Street, and Rear Street (a long-vanished street of which only the northern part, Hillcrest Avenue, remains). Certain lots were set aside as reserves for a church and burial ground (the site of St. Thomas), a parsonage, a

hospital, a school, a gaol and court house, and a market square. A glebe and clergy reserves for the support of the church were laid out on the north side of the Moira south of College Street.

In carrying out this survey Wilmot faced many problems. On his journey to Hastings County from the Oshawa area, his five man party was plagued by heavy rains, bitter cold, frozen feet, and bad roads that limited progress to twenty miles a day. On reaching the Moira he recorded that it was only "with the greatest difficulty that provision could be provided for his party". Pork was twenty-eight dollars per hundredweight and this price rose in a few days to thirty dollars; within a month no pork was available locally at any price. A shortage of wood made difficult the setting up of camp and when John Taylor, owner of the land on which the camp was built, complained about trespassing, Wilmot had to rent a house at five shillings a week. Little evidence could be found of survey posts planted by earlier surveyors such as Kotte who had plotted the southern concessions of Thurlow and Sidney in 1787. Moreover, Wilmot was almost convinced that "persons of vile principles" had tampered with the early survey markers. He was particularly supicious of Captain Meyers' work as an amateur surveyor, feeling that Meyers had altered the boundaries to obtain a mill seat. Snow and extreme cold prevented work on several days and the men spent time cutting firewood to make themselves comfortable. On March 26 the river overflowed its eastern bank and, as a result of this first recorded Belleville flood, the surveyors were forced to higher ground. Nevertheless, Wilmot's work was completed late in March and he crossed the bay to Ameliasburg Township to continue his surveying.

Wilmot's 1816 map of the village site on Lot 4 is important, since it shows that there were already almost fifty buildings, mostly frame rather than log. These included G. Selden's "Hatter's Shop", two blacksmith shops, and distilleries owned by Martha McIntosh (the widow of Captain

Public Notice is hereby
grven, that some books and tracts for children, and a variety of useful pamphlets, may be had in exchange for RAGS, at Mr. J. Thomson's store in Thurlow. Five dollars per hundred will be given for cotton and linen rags, in payment for any of the above books and tracts.

The earliest advertisement for a county business. Kingston Gazette, November 3, 1810. Some books and tracts for children were offered at J. Thomson's store in Thurlow.

John McIntosh) and Captain John Meyers. All the buildings had been erected with the permission of the Mississaugas, and the oldest structure standing in 1816 was a frame house belonging to James Harris, erected in 1797. On the west side of Front Street, and therefore outside the original village limits, were Thomas Coleman's grist and saw mills and John Everett's brewery. On the Moira River to the east of the plot were the mills and store of Captain Meyers.

The inhabitants regarded the survey with mixed emotions. Thomas Coleman, an important settler on the west bank of the river, approved, since Wilmot's relocation of the Thurlow-Sidney boundary gave him a good strip of land on the east bank of the river. On the other hand, John Taylor lost a sixty foot strip and Captain John Meyers was threatened with the loss of his mill dam, fulling mill, and a dwelling house because of the altered boundary. Complaints were lodged with the provincial government and surveyor Henry Smith was sent to Belleville. Smith was critical of Wilmot's survey, which he felt would be the "source of a great deal of mischief by Litigation". Another surveyor, William Chewett, was

Sir Francis Gore (1769-1852) by whose decision Belleville received its name.

called in; he recommended that yet another surveyor should come. However, the government felt that the matter shold be settled quickly and, after Wilmot confirmed his earlier work, the Surveyor-General ordered that Wilmot's plan be accepted, that John Taylor be given the land he felt had been taken unjustly from him, and that Captain Meyers be granted a deed for the buildings he had erected on the reserve.

Once the survey was completed, the Upper Canada Executive Council (cabinet) issued regulations for the granting of these town lots, a copy of these regulations being sent to the village to be put up for "public guidance". Applicants were expected to build a stone, brick or frame house within two years, the building to be at least twenty-four by eighteen feet.

The new townsite required a name and early in August, 1816, Lieutenant-Governor Gore expressed his pleasure that the town should "be called Bellville in compliance with the wishes of the Inhabitants of the Midland District".

Three theories have been advanced over the years to explain the selection of this name. It has been suggested that the place was named after Colonel William Bell, a theory supported by some early documents that spell the name "Bellville". A second explanation which is generally regarded as more authentic was that held by the leading historians of the area, William Canniff and W. C. Mikel, and advanced for the first time in print by the Kingston *Gazette* of September 7, 1816, According to the

Notices in the Kingston Gazet-
te, August - December, 1816.
These explain how Belleville re-
ceived its name. Note the two
spellings for the name . In early
print the letter ''s'' appeared as
an ''f''.

Gazette, the town was named in honour of Lady Bella Gore, the wife of
the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Sir Francis Gore. In the *County
of Hastings Directory 1864-65* is to be found this explanation:

"Governor Gore and his wife Lady Bella travelled, it is said, through
the Province, and stayed a night at Myers Creek. Shortly after, there was
met one evening at Mrs. Simpson's tavern the principal men of the village.
Among those present were the two McNabs. Feeling very loyal, and at
the same time the importance of the village, it was suggested by one of
them that the place should be named Belleville after the Lady Bella Gore.
The happy suggestion received the hearty approval of all present and
there after the village was so called." The account concludes by noting that
"the way in which the name is at present spelled is not correct: instead
of Belleville it ought to be Bellville". The third explanation of the city's
name, which language students and admirers of the picturesque setting
delight in, is that the name was derived from the French for "lovely town".

While the appropriateness of this last interpretation is beyond debate,
its reliability is certainly to be questioned. It is significant that all early
accounts indicate that the McNabbs, the chief rivals of Captain Meyers,
led the movement to have the name changed from Meyers' Creek to Belle-
ville. James McNabb found himself in good position to encourage this
change, having been elected on May 2, 1816, to the Legislative Assembly
of Upper Canada as the member for Hastings and Ameliasburgh (Amelias-
burgh consisting of the present township plus Hillier Township until 1823).
When Belleville was named a port of entry for ships, James McNabb was
the first Collector of Customs in the county. In addition he was local
representative on the first Board of Education set up for the Midland

District in September, 1816, and was appointed as a commissioner of local branch roads by the provincial government. To his brother Simon went the honour of being the first postmaster in what the Kingston paper of October 5, 1816 called the "new and flourishing town of Belleville". This was among the first ten post offices in Ontario and at first it was called the Bay of Quinte post office.

The selection of "Belleville" as a name did not meet with unanimous local approval, nor was the method regarded as completely legal, since in 1818 James McNabb planned to introduce in the Legislative Assembly a bill to "establish and confirm the names of the new towns of Brockville, Belleville, and Toronto". The proposed bill was never introduced, probably because the government considered Lieutenant-Governor Gore's decision in 1816 to be sufficient, even though this decision apparently had been made by Gore alone, and not on the advice of his councillors.

Meanwhile the process of granting town plots was proceeding slowly. Before the 1816 survey, building had taken place with the approval of the Mississauga Indians, and these improvements were now granted to the appropriate petitioners, but many buildings spread over more than one lot. Moreover, too many applications for land had been received, and it was decreed on November 30 that all of the remaining lots should be granted to "Tradesmen or persons of Profession", an attempt to encourage a truly urban community. The next year Wilmot returned to lay out forty five-acre lots on the northern section of the former Mississauga Reserve, and by 1820 well over half the village lots had been granted.

In 1818 a visitor to Belleville, E. A. Talbot, noted that the village contained about one hundred and fifty persons and was the largest community between Kingston and York. Arriving by steamer in the same year another visitor described Belleville as "a place of considerable business". Education was not neglected as in 1816 the first local Board of Education was set up.

The community certainly had its problems. Disputes involving access to spring water were bitter, one case being taken to the provincial government in 1818 when Peter Grass apparently attempted to divert a spring on the East Hill for his own use. The village's low site meant a constant flood threat, and in 1818 the harbour was described as too shallow and the channel too narrow to accommodate shipping. In April, 1818, a fire caused by carpenters neglecting to remove some wood shavings destroyed the almost finished home of James McNabb M. L. A., and the carpenters lost all their tools. Then on April 5, 1820, James McNabb passed away on his return from a parliamentary session at York. His death and that of Captain John Meyers the next year marked the end of an era in Belleville's history. Though rivals in many ways, both McNabb and Meyers had always striven to encourage the village's development. Their efforts had established the first local industries and had resulted in the community receiving its name—Belleville.

Chapter 9

Belleville, 1821-1837

*"Belleville could become what it is destined ultimately
to become, namely the Birmingham of America."*
Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, April 29, 1837

In the early 1820's Belleville entered a new era. The deaths of James McNabb, John W. Meyers, and other leading pioneers marked the end of the first stage of development. Now the expansion of the county's agriculture and lumbering and the influence of the Marmora Iron Works caused the community to grow to the point where incorporation as a police village was necessary.

This growth was most rapid in the dozen years before 1837. As late as 1824 the population was estimated at less than 500, whereas in 1829 it had increased to 700, and in 1835 Thomas Rolph placed the population at about 1800.

One main reason for the increased population was the publicity given in the Canadian and overseas press to the advantages of this area. A correspondent in the *Montreal Gazette* spoke of Belleville as being "one of the most flourishing towns in Canada", exhibiting "every appearance of good taste". Another visitor in the early 1830's described the splendid sporting facilities, the woods abounding in partridge, quail and woodcock "particularly in the neighbourhood of Belleville". Thomas Rolph described

The Belleville Harbour, from a sketch by Thomas Burrowes in the early 1830's. The largest house on the east (left) bank of the Moira is the Wallbridge House built by Asa Yeomans in 1820. A large raft of squared timber can be seen in the bay.
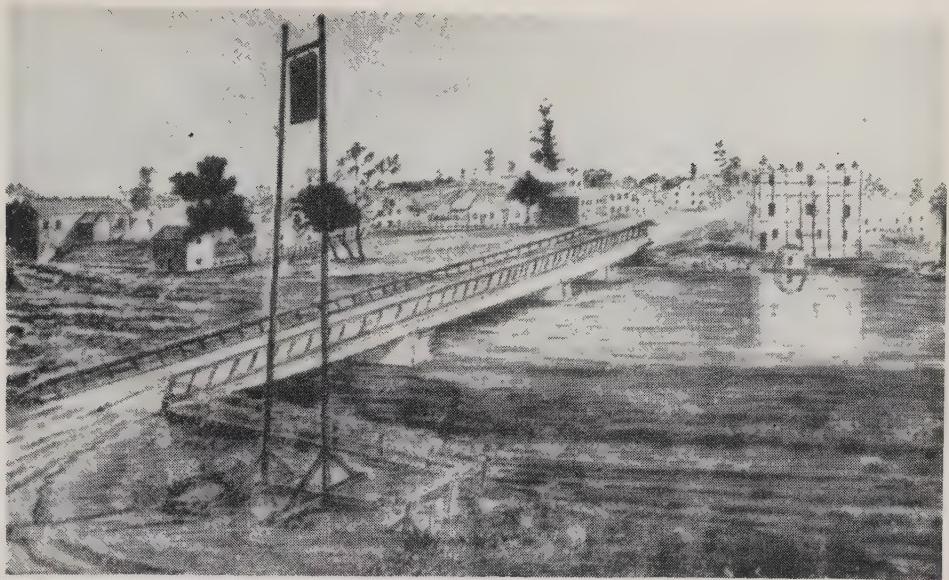
Belleville in the early 1830's. Sketch by Thomas Burrowes showing the lower bridge and the east hill with St. Thomas Anglican Church (upper right), St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (between sign standards), and St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church (upper left).

the valuable mill sites, the "vast and extensive tracts of the best quality of land in the rear townships", the rich mineral resources, and the healthy climate.

Recent immigrants acted as Belleville boosters. In 1834 William Hutton published a series of letters in the provincial press addressed to British emigrants explaining why he had selected this area. Hutton advised settlers against going west because of land speculators; instead he recommended Thurlow and Sidney townships, where he had made a good investment in the Ponton property west of Belleville. His views attracted considerable attention. In a series of private letters to his wife in Ireland, prior to her departure for Canada to join him, William Hutton painted a colourful picture of local conditions. On June 8, 1834, he wrote:

"Weather very hot here, I am actually melting away, though sitting without my coat at open window. No flies"

"My clothes are too warm, and I believe I must get some sort of light linen coat. I have a fine broad brimmed straw hat which saves me greatly. They are much worn here. . . .

"Do not encumber yourself with much. Everything can be had here reasonably. Auctions very frequently and delf (pottery) which is the dearest thing here can be had sometimes quite as cheap as at home. . . .

"If Belleville goes on advancing as it has done, the fields on the back which are only a mile from town will soon let for town parks. (Part of this land is now the Belleville Fair Grounds.) I had not the most remote idea that this country had approached so far to civilization. The children as well as ladies are most beautifully dressed in silks with their veils and

parasols. Do not have the idea that anything will do for Canada. It is quite a country. It will be too gay for you. The ladies are princesses in their dress, but I don't think much of their minds from what I have seen. . . .

"The access to this country will become much easier very soon, and when once in New York you have water carriage every foot of the way to this place, and a most delightful part of it is up the Hudson and along the Erie Canal to Oswego, then across Lake Ontario to Kingston, and thence here. It can be done in three days, if not waiting for steamboats. Do not come by Quebec as there have been thirteen wrecks already, 600 lives lost, and it is a very tedious passage."

The village's growth was reflected in the physical expansion of settlement and Rolph commented enthusiastically on the surveying and sale on "liberal terms" of lots in West Belleville. In 1823 surveyor Samuel M. Benson of Kingston had been granted a section of land in Belleville and the real estate boom made surveying a profitable busines locally.

In the same year that Belleville's first resident surveyor came, the first lawyer is believed to have taken up residence. He was James Hunter Samson, who from 1828 to 1835 was a member of the Legislative Assembly and an outspoken opponent of reformer W. L. Mackenzie. By 1836 there were six lawyers.

Like many early prominent citizens, Benson and Samson had strong ties with Kingston. So too had Henry Baldwin, an emigrant from England in 1825 who operated one of the first steamboats between Belleville, Kingston, and Prescott. In 1827 he received permission to build a wharf and store on the bay shoreline to the east of the Moira's mouth. This waterfront expansion continued until by 1836 there were five wharves, and a visitor looked for the coming of the largest lake steamboats once the proposed Murray Canal was completed. As a port Belleville was one of Upper Canada's busiest. In an average year local merchants exported 10,000 barrels of flour, 40,000 bushels of wheat, 1,500 barrels of potash, 1,000,000 staves and 2,000,000 feet of timber. Nor was the land link with the Kingston area neglected, since in 1829 the Upper Canada Legislature set aside £800 to improve the Belleville-Napanee Mill's Road.

Belleville's businesses grew in number and variety. Mrs. Willard notified the public on January 2, 1827 that she intended carrying on the "Millinery and Mantuamaking Business" and hoped "by her assiduity to merit a share of the public patronage". James McDonnell received a licence as an auctioneer on payment of a £5 fee in 1830. In 1831, Belleville's first paper, the *Anglo-Canadian* appeared, to be followed by several more successful papers including *The Intelligencer* founded in 1834. Chandler's Drug Store advertised "Smith's Poor Man's Cough Drops" as a cure for colds, coughs and whooping cough. In 1835 Dr. Holden began Holden's Drug Store, the forerunner of the present Geen's Drugs. By 1836 Mr. Proctor's Trip-Hammer Forge and Axe Factory was "cele-

brated for making the best axes in the province" and Billa Flint's" exten-
sive wharfs and store houses made him one of the most prominent merch-
ants in the district. Flint's "Enterprise Steam Saw Mill" was the first
in this part of the province and was envied by less progressive Kingston
merchants. Four flouring mills, four saw mills, a paper mill, an iron
foundry, two carding and cloth dressing mills, a patent pail factory, and
three tanneries varied the manufacturing of the town. Three harness

The Wallbridge house, Front
and Dundas streets, erected
1820.

makers, six cabinet makers, eight blacksmiths, two tinsmiths, four coopers,
four grocers, two druggists, two bakers, three butchers, two hatters, and
one watchmaker were also active. In fact "mechanics of almost every
description" carried on a profitable trade, occupied 50 buildings them-
selves, and provided goods and services for the 1,800 local residents who
inhabited the 380 private dwelling houses, many of them "handsome
stone and brick buildings" by 1836. Thirteen taverns provided for the
accommodation of travellers and others and at least three brewhouses and
one distillery provided the needed refreshment to the taverns.

Not all businesses survived the prosperity of the early 1830's. Shel-
don's Drug, Medicine, Paint and Oil Store was offered for sale by the
owner in 1835 "in consequence of the necessity of change of air and
climate". A newly founded newspaper, *The Intelligencer*, found itself in
difficulty since, as a Kingston observer noted, it was "not generally known";
nevertheless, *The Intelligencer* survived.

The decade after 1821 witnessed a considerable religious develop-
ment at Belleville. The Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and
Anglicans either erected new churches or extended existing facilities, most
of them on what is now Church Street.

The people of Belleville needed religion at this time since the com-
munity was fast gaining a reputation as a vulgar, brawling, lumber town.
Violence was not infrequent. In 1830, for example, a resident was acquit-
ted on a charge of "maliciously shooting James Macdonald", a Belle-
ville constable who was attempting to search the accused's house for stolen

goods. The following year a "shocking murder" was reported in the press, a "wretched being" of an Irishman having used a hoe to penetrate his victim's skull.

Probably the most publicized crime of the period occurred in 1832. The *Hallowell Free Press* (Picton) of April 17 described the incident as "a most serious and terrible affray . . . in the course of which the lives of one of the leading Magistrates and one or two of the most respectable inhabitants were very near being sacrificed." The affair involved a labour dispute when some journeymen tailors "of notoriously bad character, who had previously quarrelled with their employer, collected in a body about 11 o'clock on the night in question and proceeded to his shop, armed with billets of wood". After one or two had entered the shop and begun the attack, the tailor's cries brought the neighbours to his aid, whereupon the other journeymen joined in the fight. Among the neighbours was James McNab, "a very powerful young man, and possessed likewise of considerable science" who "kept the villains at bay for some time, knocking a man down at every blow".After ejecting the ten armed ruffians from the shop, McNab and two others continued the fight outside until a blow "from one of the villain's clubs" brought McNab to the ground and the other two fled again into the house. "The whole fury of the wretches was now directed against Mr. McNab, on whose destruction they seemed fully bent. They trampled on him with their feet, and beat him dreadfully with both sticks, and stones till at length he lay perfectly senseless, and to all appearance dead. . ." Arriving on the scene to aid McNab, Thomas Parker was attacked by the journeymen tailors who recognized Parker as the magistrate who had a short time before sent one of their numbers to jail for theft. Dr. Ridley, one of the county's four doctors, also was knocked down with a club or stone. Fortunately all the victims recovered and the law dealt with the rioters, three of whom were jailed!

Advertisements from the Kingston press, 1816-34. Thomas Coleman was one of the county's most prominent early businessmen.

This riot and the unchecked robber bands operating in the Belleville district led *The Intelligencer* to declare:

"We want police regulations, men who will have their eyes upon all vagabonds, and who would know when to cast suspicion, with some probability of detecting the thief."

The problem of robbery was not confined to the Belleville area as the provincial Postmaster General cautioned any person wishing to send money through the mails about several recent losses. The suggested remedy was to cut the bank note into two pieces, forward one piece and retain the other until receipt of the first was acknowledged.

The county's first hospital. To the left of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (erected circa 1830) is the hospital built in 1832 as the result of a £200 provincial grant to aid the sufferers of the cholera epidemic. The 28 x 44 foot hospital was described as being in a "ruinous condition" about the time of this picture, 1860.

Cholera was another problem facing the Belleville area. In 1832 the disease spread through the Quinte district, killing a dozen at Picton and a much larger number at Kingston. Fortunately the "dreadful pestilence" did not visit Belleville and a two story wooden hospital on the north east corner of Victoria Avenue and Church Street, hurriedly commenced in 1832 to house the cholera patients, was not needed. Reporting to the provincial government on June 29, 1832, Belleville surveyor Samuel Wilmot explained how the community had escaped: "There is a guard *armed* stations on all roads leading to this place night and day to prevent the approach of all strangers . . . and no steam or sail boat allowed to land good or passengers." Since sick emigrants were not allowed to approach the town, Wilmot noted that "the hospital will be required only to add appearance to this Village". Later the hospital was used as a temporary shelter for emigrants.

Belleville in the early 1830's. Sketch by Thomas Burrowes from the vicinity of the lower bridge, showing the Moira River and Coleman Street.

Belleville's growth, coupled with the need for more adequate police protection and a desire to control their own affairs, led the citizens to seek incorporation as a police village. As early as 1823 the local inhabitants had asked to have a police force, but this request had been denied by the Legislative Council. Then in 1826 a petition was drawn up asking for a village council with power to keep the streets in repair, prevent "Nuisances and racing of Horses in the streets", and regulate animals running at large. The citizens of Belleville felt that their interests were not identical with those of the other Thurlow Township inhabitants. This conflict of interests is apparent in the surviving minutes of the Thurlow town meetings, annual assemblies to elect township officials. At such a meeting held in the court room at Belleville on January 4, 1836, a contest for the office of township clerk (chairman) developed between George Benjamin of Belleville and Dr. Anson Hayden of Hayden's Corners (Corbyville). After a count indicated 69 votes for Benjamin and 68 votes for Hayden, a written ballot was demanded; the supporters of both candidates quickly rounded up additional inhabitants and the ballot gave the clerkship to Benjamin by a 144 to 122 count. When the location of the next meeting came up for discussion, Belleville won over Hayden's Corners, and the vote of 31 to 20 suggests that the court room had emptied quickly after the clerk's election.

However, before the next annual township meeting could be held in January, 1837, Belleville had been separated from the township and incorporated as a police village. This status originally had been granted by the provincial government on March 6, 1834; but, because of a faulty description of the village's boundaries, a new parliamentary act was needed in 1836 to correct the error. Included for the first time in Belleville were

lands to the west of the Moira River, thus ending the hopes of Billa Flint, William Dafoe, Thomas Coleman, and others that the settlement on the west bank of the Moira might be set up as a separate village of "Moira". The second act also provided for the first election of the Board of Police in June 1836 when Henry Yager, Francis McAnnany, Zenas Dafoe, Martin Ryan and Clifton McCollom were chosen by the principal male house-holders and leaseholders. This Board was given power to control local roads, slaughter houses, fire regulations, market hours, and so on. It was to ensure that new streets were at least sixty-six feet in width, to prevent "indecent writing and pictures in public places", and "generally to prevent vice and preserve good order."

One of the board's first acts in 1836 was to ask the provincial government to straighten Hotel Street (later renamed Victoria Avenue) at Pinnacle Street. The jog in Hotel Street had resulted from Samuel Wilmot's decision in the 1816 survey to relocate the street, rather than force John Everett to remove his house which extended onto the road allowance. Since Everett's title (1817) was clear, the government did nothing in 1836 to improve the road.

Also in 1836 the Belleville Board of Police asked the provincial government to turn over several land reserves to the village. Although land for the market and certain water lots (including the island now occupied by Victoria Park) were turned over to the Board, other reserves set aside in 1816 for schools, the gaol and court house were not granted, since it was felt that they should belong to the county magistrates when the county would be set up as a separate district, apart from the Midland District. Unfortunately, plans in 1836 to create the new district with the growing police village of Belleville as the district seat were interrupted by the Rebellion of 1837-38.

The Growth of a County, 1790-1837

*"The Inhabitants of Sidney, Thurlow, and Richmond . . .
possess more wealth, or rather more property in stock
and in improved lands than any other people in the
Province."*

(E. A. Talbot, 1824)

The growth of Belleville and Hastings County has always been closely related. The period 1790 to 1837 was no exception, since Belleville's rise then was the direct result of expanding county agricultural, lumbering and mining industries.

Agriculture was the first major county industry. The early settler depended on the land not only to feed, clothe and shelter him, but also to provide him with some saleable produce with which to obtain the few necessities and luxuries the land did not supply directly. The settler's first enemy was the forest and this he attacked as best he could with axe and fire. Conservation was far from his mind; self-preservation was his goal.

In the first twenty years of settlement there was little attempt at lumbering for export. Markets were distant and transportation was difficult. Although Samuel Sherwood took a timber raft of masts cut three miles east of Trenton to Quebec as early as 1790, this accomplishment was not often repeated until the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 created a demand for local timber for British ship-building.

Once cleared, the land was capable of producing good crops. A visitor to this area, John Ogden, testified to that when he wrote in 1799:

"The most flourishing part of this settlement is round the Bay of Kenty, the soil of which is rich, easy worked, and produces from one to three crops, without any other cultivation than what is done by the iron tooth harrow, and yields from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat to the acre." Other contemporary writers proclaimed that "the fertility of the soil is universally allowed".

Settlement was still confined largely to the shores of the Bay of Quinte and the Trent and Moira rivers, transportation by water in summer (or ice in winter) being the accepted mode of travel. Accordingly the southern parts of Thurlow and Sidney townships monopolized county expansion in the years up to 1812. By that time two grist mills had been built above Belleville on the Moira—Read's at Corbyville and Canniff's at Cannifton.

After the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic Wars ended (1815), emigrants from the British Isles came to Upper Canada and Hastings County in increasing numbers, seeking relief from post-war British unemployment. Their coming changed the complexion of the county's population, which until that time had been largely Loyalist or American.

The settler's cabin. The processing of wool was one of the woman's chief occupations. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

Several steps were taken at this time to improve local agriculture. In 1817 there are indications in Sidney and Thurlow of some attempts to improve pasture, of a more efficient summer fallow method, and of a "quite exceptional" use of manure with some crops. Robert Gourlay noted that an acre of new land would produce between 25 and 30 bushels of wheat, almost twice the production of an acre of old land unless the old land was manured and well cultivated. Unfortunately the Canadian thistle hindered agriculture on much of the fertile land around the Bay of Quinte and in-vain did the farmers try to "extirpate this intruder."

The thistle problem, a post-war economic depression in 1819, and the relatively high cost of labour (a farm worker received from ten to twelve dollars a month) were factors encouraging the farmers of Hastings County to band together to improve their lot, an association which was to result in 1821 in the first agricultural fair ever held in the county.

Perhaps the first step towards this fair took place on February 8, 1819, at Kingston, when the formative meeting of the Midland District Agricultural Society was held. This Society included representatives from the counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, Prince Edward, and Hastings, our county being represented by Thomas Jones and Gilbert Harris of Sidney Township and John Canniff and James McNabb, M. L. A., of Thurlow Township. These representatives were to create interest in the Midland District Agricultural Society among the residents of Hastings County.

By the time of the next recorded meeting of the society (April 27, 1820), the local representation had been depleted by the death of James McNabb, M. L. A. However, the Committee was expanded to include G. W. Meyers, Thomas Coleman, William Bell, and William Ketcheson. Moreover, Captain John W. Meyers was elected a vice-president.

At this meeting, the progress of the society was reviewed, including its first small cattle show at Adolphustown in October 1819. The fact that these shows were to be held only at Adolphustown and Kingston annoyed the more distant members from Hastings. Accordingly, it was decided that "any county that raised the sum of £25 could have itself the privilege of a public fair".
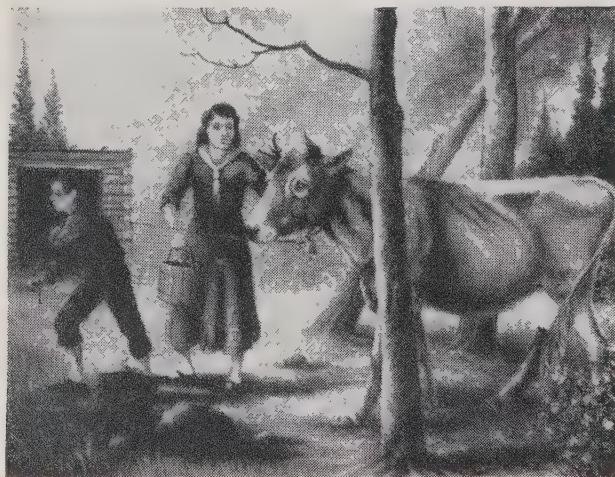
Bringing home the heifer. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire.)

This regulation met with the whole-hearted approval of the local delegates, and before a month had passed a meeting of the Hastings County Committee of the Midland District Agricultural Society was held at Roswell Leavens' home in Belleville.

At this meeting John W. Meyers was called to the chair and Robert Smith was named secretary. Smith then proceeded to call for a public subscription so that Hastings County could have its own fair. He also urged the local farmers to turn from grain farming to other production, especially stock raising, which he felt to be increasingly profitable because of the requirements of the British military garrison at Kingston and the scarcity of livestock in the Quinte district.

The report of the Belleville meeting appeared in the *Kingston Chronicle*, whose editorial comment is revealing:

"These resolutions ... may be considered as really important, inasmuch as they come from practical farmers, and from a quarter of the district which till very lately seems to have looked with indifference if not disapprobation upon every attempt at the establishment of an Agricultural Society. But though the County of Hastings has been somewhat slow in

yielding its countenance and support to that valuable institution . . . that County has more than attoned for its former apparent negligence."

The groundwork laid, the committee then set out to raise the £25 subscription list, which task was completed within six months.

In May, 1821, the local committee reported on the success of its fund-raising appeal at the Kingston meeting of the society, and it was resolved that a "County Show be held at Belleville on the first Monday in October".

Accordingly Hastings County's first fair was held on Monday, October 1, 1821. Unfortunately it "was not so numerously attended, and did not present as many candidates for premiums as was expected", the reason apparently being confusion as to what time the fair was to take place. Nevertheless the fair secretary reported that "those present, particularly the successful candidates, were highly pleased with this first demonstration".

Prize winners at the fair included many prominent pioneers. Daniel Ostrom of Sidney received the largest prize, twenty dollars, for the best bull. Captain John W. Meyers of Thurlow, whose death took place the following month, showed the excellence of his livestock by receiving three awards totalling twenty three dollars for the second best bull, the best boar, and the best breeding sow. The most prolific prize winner was Ruliff Purdy of Sidney who received five prizes for his milch cows and yearling heifers. The prize list totalled $106.50, although this probably was paid in a variety of currency and other goods.

It is unlikely that there was any judging of vegetables or a plowing contest, although both of these features had originally been expected to be incorporated into the fair. According to the secretary's report, it was felt highly desirable to hold the fair as soon as possible "to excite a spirit so long dormant in this part of the country". Therefore, prizes were for livestock only in the 1821 fair.

Thus the first county fair passed into history.

At the time of the fair, agriculture was the most important industry in Hastings County. Most of the county's 3,000 persons lived on farms largely concentrated in Sidney (1,353 persons) and Thurlow (1,193 persons) townships. Fewer than 500 farmers were cultivating some 12,000 acres. Cows and horned cattle outnumbered horses by 1600 to 550. while there were almost 300 oxen. According to the assessment records, the county supported 10 grist mills, 7 saw mills, and 11 merchant shops. Only 70 town lots in Belleville were occupied, and no carriages were listed for the county, a good indication of the state of the early roads.

The year 1821 was also an important year in the county's growth since three new townships were created — Elzevir, Madoc, and Marmora. Their addition to the county reflected the gradual northern expansion of settlement and the rapidly developing Marmora iron mines, whose origins we shall examine later.

After 1822 local wheat-farming received a boost when Britain granted
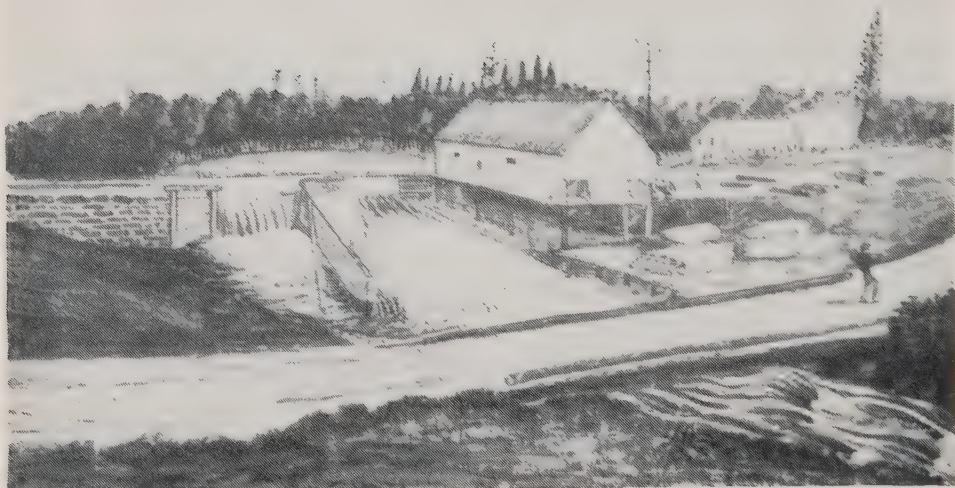
Saw Mill on the Salmon River at Shannonville, sketched by Thomas Burrowes in the early 1830's.

certain preferences to Canadian wheat; Britain also took other surplus grain products. Moreover, the front townships which produced a "large harvest of pease" supplied that article and other provisions for British troops garrisoned in Canada. Because of the growing prosperity, settlers were attracted to this area, and from 1821 to 1824 the population of Sidney and Thurlow townships increased from 2,550 to 3,500. During the same time the population of Rawdon Township rose by over 30 per cent to stand at 296.

This increase in population was encouraged further by changes in the Upper Canadian government's land and timber policies. A new land-granting system was adopted in 1826 whereby the old system of free grants, upon payment of fees, was replaced by a sales system. This Crown sales system lessened the opportunities for land speculators and helped to place genuine settlers on the land. Also, in 1827 a portion of the clergy reserves was opened for sale to settlers, again encouraging settlement. About the same time the timber on the public lands of Upper Canada was legally opened for anyone who agreed to pay a fixed scale of fees; prior to this the timber had been reserved for the Royal Navy and could be cut only after acquiring a licence. The new timber system promoted the growth of the lumber industry, providing both full time employment to lumbermen and part-time employment to many farmers.

Industrial accidents accompanied this rapid development. A Belleville subscriber to the *Kingston Chronicle*, the local paper in 1826, wrote of a tragic accident at a hay mowing bee in the First Concession of Sidney when John Lawrence was cut by a scythe and his leg had to be amputated. Many other persons were described as having suffered like fates:

"Two have met with death, by horses running away with wagons, two in a Grist Mill, one by felling a tree, another by the falling of timber, five by the upsetting of two Skiffs in the Bay, and a number of others by drowning, who were employed in the lumber business, in the Rivers and

Lakes back of the settlement." The writer hoped that this account would serve as a warning to others.

Despite such mishaps settlement generally continued to grow, and the 1830 assessment records show a total of 5,819 persons.

TOWNSHIP	Males over 16 years	Males under 16 years	Females over 16 years	Females under 16 years	Total
Sidney	598	581	447	519	2145
Thurlow	645	623	564	612	2444
Rawdon	113	96	75	71	355
Huntingdon	39	43	36	43	161
Marmora	68	39	48	47	202
Tyendinaga	105	84	87	97	373
Madoc	50	30	27	32	139
Totals	1618	1496	1284	1421	5819

The relative youth of the county population can be seen in the fact that almost half were under 16 years of age. Also evident is the developing settlement in the Madoc area, as well as Huntingdon township where in 1817 there had been only four families. Hungerford Township also was being settled at this time and boasted 271 persons by 1832. In both Huntingdon and Hungerford townships, settlement was encouraged by the Canada Company. Founded in 1824 by John Galt, the company acquired reserve lots in each concession of the two townships in 1826 and sold them to immigrants.

Still the population explosion was not as great as many persons wanted. Accordingly a vocal element of the population in the early 1830's proposed the formation of a society to instruct emigrants in the "numerous advantages" of this area. Another group headed by the newly founded *Intelligencer* called upon the farmers to unite against "the rising tide of free trade", an evil which threatened local prosperity. Writers such as Thomas Rolph looked for a canal between the Bay and Lake Ontario together with a Trent waterway to ensure high cash prices for farm products, thereby attracting settlers. A visitor to Belleville in 1836 commented that at "an inconsiderable expense" the Moira could be made navigable as far as the bridge for steam boats.

However, these hopes to expand the local economy and attract more settlers received a temporary setback in the late 1830's when an economic depression affected the merchants and flour millers. This depression, coupled with the ensuing Rebellion of 1837-38, would have serious local consequences.

Chapter 11

A Mining Venture

"In Upper Canada . . . there are only two Iron or Metal
Foundries, — one on the shores of Lake Erie, — and
the other in the township of Marmora, Midland District."

(E. A. Talbot, 1824)

One of the most fascinating chapters in the history of Hastings County centers about the Marmora Iron Mines. In addition to being one of the few Canadian mines in operation in the early nineteenth century, this venture has been of continuing importance: to-day the Marmora Mines still play a major role in the economy of the county.

The man most responsible for the beginnings of the mining boom at Marmora was Charles Hayes. Representing the Dublin firm of W. and R. Hayes, Charles Hayes had come to Canada in search of new iron ore deposits. On October 26, 1820, he requested permission from the Canadian Legislature to establish an iron works at Crowe Lake, Marmora Township, and to open a road to the mines from Sidney Township. Permission was given for the building of the road and some 1200 acres of land were granted so that "bar iron" and "hollow ware" could be produced. An additional 1200 acres were set aside for fuel purposes.

On February 16, 1821, a fifteen mile road was opened between the Marmora iron works and the Trent River and on October 1 Hayes reported that a number of men were working on the site. The iron works was situated on the east bank of the Crowe River, just west of Marmora's present Main Street, a site now overgrown with weeds and brush. The mine buildings covered a considerable expanse of ground along the river and included offices, two furnaces (capable of yielding three tons a day), charcoal pits, lumber yards, stables, blacksmith shops, carpenter shops, stores, a foundry, smelter, saw mill, casting-house, pattern house, bark mill and tannery, bake house, and every other type of building to be found in a thriving industrial centre of that day. By 1826 there were fourteen comfortable houses, three of which were "well suited for Taverns or large families". Later, fire would destroy much of this complex and the stores would move a block eastward, leaving little evidence of even the ruins of the early mine buildings.

When Charles Hayes discovered that the main ore deposit was not within the original grant, he approached the government for additional lands which were granted him in nearby Belmont and Methuen Townships of Peterborough County. This main body of ore was over five miles distant from the works; however, the Crowe River was used for transportation.

By 1822 the Marmora Iron Works was approaching peak production. In August, the public was advised that heavy castings could be obtained

at the works at five dollars per hundred pounds (the terms cash) and in September bar iron of all sizes was ready for delivery. Thomas Whitaker & Co. of Kingston was named sales representative there, and a moderate trade resulted. The British Navy's Dockyards at Kingston proved to be an important customer. Iron ballast was needed for the yards, and in 1822 the Marmora Iron Works called for tenders to transport 750 tons of cast
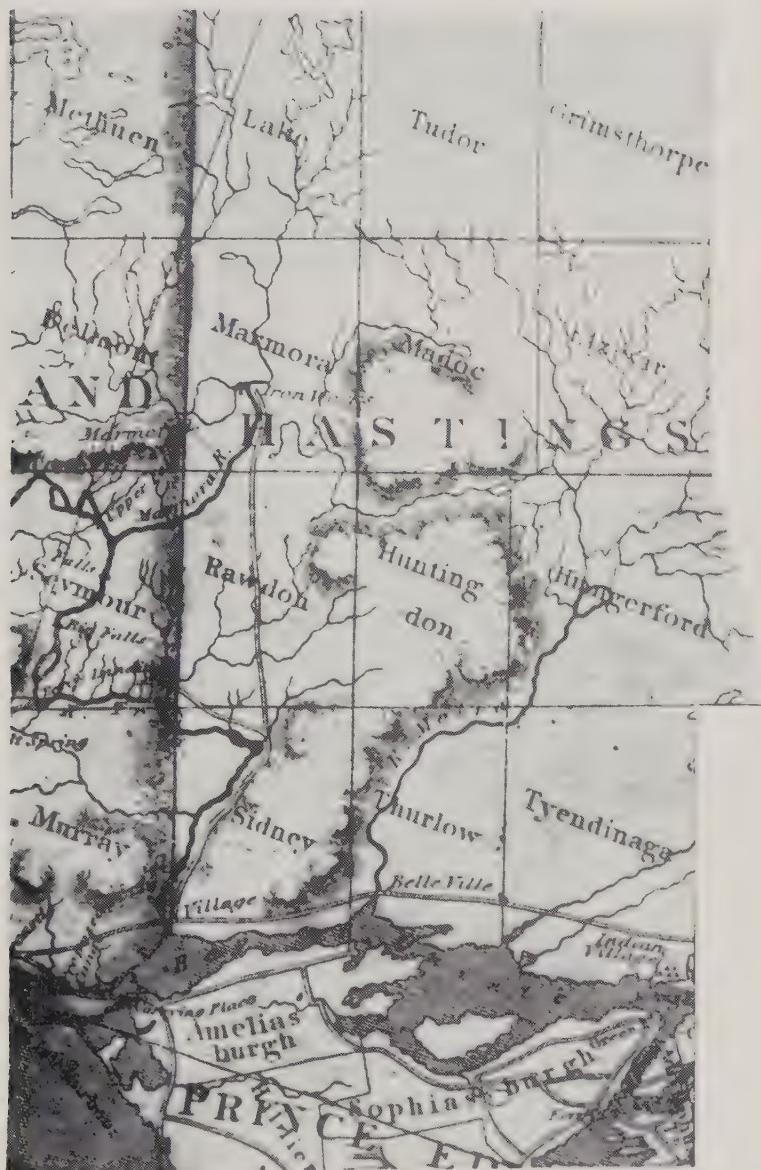
Hastings County and adjacent townships in Northumberland and Prince Edward counties, 1825 from a map by J. C. Chewett. The importance of the Marmora Iron Works and its road to the mouth of the Trent is clearly shown.

The first mines at Marmora, water-colour views by Susanna Strickland Moodie, noted Belleville writer.

iron ballast to these docks. To encourage transportation on the Trent River. the company advertised that a preference would be given "to those who intend to transport the Ballast the furthest distance by water. and as an inducement One Hundred Dollars. exceeding the stipulated sum will be paid to the first Boat. which will for one month ply regularly up and down the rapids of the Trent, carrying Iron Ballast."

As evidenced by this early advertisement, transportation was one of the main problems facing the company. Road transportation was difficult because of the poor roads and heavy weight of the product, and water transportation was hindered by rapids and shallows on the Trent and Crowe

rivers. On one occasion this obstacle was partially overcome when "some of the most respectable farmers" in the district had a "Grand Bee" in July, 1823, to carry several cargoes of fire-stone for the new furnaces from the landing place to the Iron Works, a distance of six miles.

Probably the first mining disaster in Hastings County history was recorded in April, 1823, when a "melancholy accident" occurred at the Marmora Iron Works. A party of men was excavating a ledge of rock, when a cedar stump unexpectedly gave way, releasing a small rock slide which struck and instantly killed Patrick Butler, an Irishman who had worked fourteen months at the mine. A resulting inquest into the tragedy found that "no blame whatever could be imputed to any person . . . "

As production capacity grew, the Marmora Iron Works was able to advertise an increasing variety of goods:

"Pot Ash Kettles & Coolers, 40 Gal. Cauldrons & Sugar Kettles, Single & Double Stoves, Pots and Bake Ovens, Dog Irons, Sleigh Shoes, Cart & Waggon Boxes, Fanning Mill Irons, with Bar Iron of all sizes, and of SUPERIOR QUALITY, now ready for sale — Orders for the above and MILL IRONS of every description, received and executed immediately at the Works, or forwarded by the Agents in the respective Towns in the Province."

The Marmora Iron Works sparked an early real estate boom. Building lots advertised in the Kingston press in 1823 were soon purchased by merchants and tradesmen, who were required by the company to submit "certificates of good conduct" with their application for land.

Local agriculture also flourished, the iron works purchasing up to 60 barrels of prime pork and 100 barrels

For Sale,

In the Village of MARMORA,
IN UPPER CANADA,

SEVERAL LOTS for BUILDING, on such terms as may be agreed upon. From its immediate contiguity to the Iron Works, it would be a desirable situation for Dry Good Stores, and Tradesmen of every description.——Application to be made at the Iron Works, accompanied with certificates of good conduct.

Kingston, June 27, 1823.

of fine flour in each winter month to feed its 150 to 200 employees. Payment for these products was in cash or iron ware and the farmers were usually engaged "at a liberal price" to carry a return load to Belleville or the River Trent.

Charles Hayes' real answer to the problem of transportation was his plan to build a canal from the south-west corner of Crowe Lake to the narrows on the Trent River. The south-west corner of Crowe Lake (Blairton), five miles distant from the original workings, was the site of Hayes' proposed mine expansion. Patents to this land were granted in 1824, but financial problems prevented the completion of the canal and forced Hayes to relinquish his holdings to three prominent businessmen — Peter McGill of Montreal, Anthony Manahan of Kingston and Robert Hayes of Dublin, Ireland. Management problems continued and in 1827 Peter McGill, by now the sole proprietor, put the complete iron works and 7,534 acres with

Peter McGill (1789-1860) who played a major role in developing the Marmora mines.

"inexhaustible mines of ORE" up for sale at Kingston by public auction to the highest bidder. Upwards of £30,000 had been invested in the project up to 1826, and since no reasonable offer was received at the auction, Peter McGill remained as owner, with Anthony Manahan as works manager.

Production increased, and advertising in the Kingston newspapers was extensive, but still the company did not prosper. The press blamed the people and the people's representatives in government for not providing the "spur of public encouragement". The *Kingston Chronicle* proclaimed: "Let them not purchase a single article in Montreal which can be procured from the Marmora Iron Works — let them bring a bill into Parliament, granting a sum of money for effecting a water communication between the works and the head of navigation, and for the making and improvement of roads in their vicinity . . ."

The "public spur" did not prick the government to action, although Lieutenant-Governor Colborne did visit the works in 1830. After the government refused his request for a £10,000 loan, Peter McGill again advertised the buildings and land for sale to the highest bidder (without reserve bid). The works now passed into the hands of Thomas Herrington of Montreal for the price of £10,000. Herrington planned to sell shares and develop the works as a joint stock company, to establish forges either at the mouth of the Trent or at Belleville because of the lower wages paid in those centres, and to control the hitherto "amazing expenses". Government permission to sell shares was received, and the Marmora Company was incorporated, but again the anticipated prosperity did not materialize.

The area attracted attention in 1837 when the provincial government considered the possibility of acquiring the works and moving the penitentiary from Kingston to Marmora, the plan being to employ the convicts in the mines and forges. In August a government commission inspected the ore beds and buildings at Marmora. Since the three commissioners could not agree among themselves, two reports resulted — a majority report signed by Anthony Manahan of Kingston (the former works manager) and George Neville Ridley of Belleville, and a minority report by Isaac Frazer

of Ernestown. Frazer was generally in favour of the move, though not as much as the other commissioners, since he felt that the works were in a good state of repairs, that there was an immense supply of water power, and that the "supply of rich Iron ore is absolutely inexhaustible". He estimated the cost of buying the property at £25,000 and the cost of building the prison wing at £9,839.6.0. Nevertheless, Frazer questioned whether or not government ownership of the works would be proper. Penitentiary warden Henry Smith of Kingston also felt that this public project would be "detrimental to private ownership"; although his main objections were the cost of the new prison wing, the difficulty of hiring guards when their low salaries would not meet the increased prices necessitated by transporting goods inland from Belleville, and the unsuitability for hard physical labour of many convicts whose bodies had been "destroyed by intemperance". Accordingly the provincial government did not purchase the Marmora Iron Works.

The next half century witnessed further changes in management but to no avail. The attempts were largely foiled by transportation problems. Neither the Cobourg-Peterborough-Marmora Railway Company nor the much-talked-of Belleville to Marmora Railway could solve the problems. Another difficulty was the sulphur content in the ore: wood did not create enough heat to remove the sulphur and an experiment in 1876 to smelt the iron with petroleum was also unsatisfactory. As a result, mining operations ceased about 1880, and the land passed into the hands of Mr. T. P. Pearce of Toronto, who carried on extensive lumber operations.

Nevertheless the Marmora Mines have been important. They began a county interest in mining, supplied the early settlers with such necessary products as potash kettles and bake ovens, encouraged the opening up of the Marmora area to settlement, showed the need for improved navigation facilities on the Trent, and pointed the way for the successful operations of the present Marmoraton Iron Mines, a subsidiary of the American Bethlehem Steel Company.

Aerial view of the present Marmoraton Mines operation.

Chapter 12

By Land and Water

"Quick Travelling — As an instance of the rapid travel-
ling in this country we may mention that lately a gent-
leman left Belleville at half-past seven on the morning
of Tuesday in the (Steamer) James Kempt . . . and
arrived in Montreal on Wednesday — a distance of
about 300 miles. It would bother Uncle Sam himself to
beat this."

(Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, July 20, 1833.)

The speed of transportation increased remarkably between the time of the early explorers and the 1830's.

Compare the twenty-six days required in October, 1668, by Father Fenelon to travel from Montreal to the Trenton area with the two days needed in 1833 to complete the same journey by steamer. Like Champlain, who had visited the Bay of Quinte on his 1615 expedition, Father Fenelon travelled mostly by water, landing only to portage or to make camp at night.

Water remained the chief avenue of transportation after the coming of the Loyalists. For many years, it was considered a waste of time and money to open roads when the Bay of Quinte provided excellent summer transportation, and winter traffic "was made comparatively easy . . . . by snow and ice, which made the most remote points accessible by snowshoe and dog sled", according to historian Edwin C. Guillet. As a result, the earliest inhabitants blazed few trails through the woods.

Before 1800, there were no roads worthy of the name in the Quinte district. William Canniff noted that travellers from Montreal westward would come by bateau or durham boat to Kingston. A district merchant who made the trip up the St. Lawrence in 1788, described it as "a most tedious and fatiguing journey", many of the nineteen days being spent "up to the waist in water or mire". Freight charges on this route were based on an unusual standard — a barrel of rum was transported for about three dollars and other goods were charged accordingly.

Many of those travellers who had business farther west than Kingston went on horseback to the mouth of the Trent River where they were furn- ished with fresh horses and an Indian guide to lead them through the unsettled country, the road being "little better than an common Indian path".

Others travelling west from Kingston used the waterways. Merchant John Ferguson came up the Bay by Indian canoe to Belleville. However, most water traffic was by bateau. Among the bateau operators in the 1790's were Mr. Lambert of Sidney Township and Captain John Meyers. The latter made frequent trips to Kingston and occasional ones to Montreal.

supplying his passengers with grog from his "caboose". Bateau service was available at many points along the Bay and surveyor William Hambly records hiring one in December, 1793, to carry his survey party from near Deseronto to Fairman's on the front of Thurlow at a cost of three dollars. Later, Hambly rented a bateau from Captain Meyers for his trip to Toronto. At the Carrying Place near the head of the Bay of Quinte, the bateau was probably unloaded, hauled upon wagons across the narrow isthmus to Wellers Bay, and reloaded to proceed west along the north shore of Lake Ontario. As he watched the slow portaging process, Hambly must have wondered if someday a canal would cut the narrow isthmus. Two years later a grant of land was set aside for such a canal, but the project hung fire for many years. Robert Gourlay ridiculed it in 1822 when he wrote that in war time a canal might assist "in playing at bo-peep along the shore, should the Americans gain control of Lake Ontario; but in that event the game would be of short continuance". Another seventy years elapsed before the completion of the Murray Canal in 1889.

During the winter months ice travel was extremely popular in the early 1800's. Unfortunately it was also very hazardous. On Christmas Sunday evening in 1816, two young American visitors drowned when their single horse sleigh broke through the ice of the Bay of Quinte as they were driving east from Trent River. A similar "melancholy accident" on the bay in February, 1834, took the life of the Presbyterian minister at Cobourg, the Reverend Matthew Millar.

The mouth of the Trent, from a water-colour executed in the early 1830's by Thomas Burrowes. Pictured are Mrs. John Bleecker's hotel and ferry with its wharf, the horse ferry with its railing on either side, and a flat-bottomed rowboat. On the east bank, near the cribs of white squared pine timber, are the Hawley saw mills. The first bridge across the Trent's mouth was erected in 1834.

The first section of roadway in the Quinte district is reported to have been that constructed in early Loyalist days between Bath and Kingston. Between 1798 and 1801 this road was incorporated into the Danforth Road which reached from Kingston to Toronto. Hastings County was little affected by this highway since the route from Bath westward passed through Prince Edward County, emerging at the Carrying Place. Then as now, a ferry carried travellers between the Adolphustown shore and Glenora.

In the next 20 years the Danforth Road fell into disrepair because of the lack of any effective system of road maintenance. Accordingly in 1815-16 a second highway, known as the Kingston Road, was opened between Kingston and York (Toronto). Generally it followed the route of the old Danforth Road, but with one important exception. Between Ernestown and the site of the present town of Trenton an alternative route was provided. This passed through Napanee and Belleville and a ferry conveyed travellers across the Trent River near its mouth.

The corduroy r o a d s , built in swampy areas and named after the long-wearing ridged cloth in common use. The King's messenger meets the preacher; who has the right of way? (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

Work on the early roads was carried out by statute labour. Each inhabitant was required to work from three to twelve days a year on the highway, this work being supervised by pathmasters who were appointed by the ratepayers at annual township meetings. About 1816 the provincial government also appointed township commissioners such as James McNabb of Meyers Creek to spend some government money on the development of branch roads. However, this was not an ideal situation, and in the 1820's Charles Hayes of the Marmora Iron Works found it necessary to personally finance road repairs on the forty miles of road the company had made. At Belleville in 1824, the bridge across the Moira was in such poor condition that Reverend Thomas Campbell, Robert Smith, and Charles Willard undertook the construction of a new bridge at a cost of £125. The trio believed that every district resident would willingly come forward

and help pay for the bridge once it was finished. Their confidence was shattered when only £25 was raised by public collection, and the subscribers had to ask the government for the balance.

The first regular stage line between Kingston and York began to run early in 1817. Operated by Samuel Purdy of Kingston, the stage made one weekly trip each way during the winter months. Then on July 8, 1817, Purdy inaugurated a "stage waggon" line to Belleville, charging four dollars for passage to Kingston, which fee was cut by one dollar early the next year.

The coming of the stage coincided with the arrival of the steamboat. On September 7, 1816, the steamer "Frontenac" was launched near Kingston. This was the first steamship on the Great Lakes and the *Kingston Gazette*, though questioning the financial success of such vessels, called them an "interesting experiment". A second steamer, the "Queen Charlotte", was completed in 1818 and made regular runs from Wilkins' Wharf at the Carrying Place to Prescott. The fare, including meals but not liquor, from the head of the Bay of Quinte to Kingston was five dollars. From Belleville to Trenton, steerage passage was 3s. 9d. Rules for the conduct of the passengers on the "Charlotte" prohibited men from smoking or visiting the ladies' cabin without special permission and explained how night "Births" could be obtained. In 1826 the "Charlotte" was partially rebuilt so that, according to the owners, it offered the public "as speedy, cheap, and comfortable a mode of travelling, as there is to be found in this Province". The "Charlotte" met boats at the Carrying Place so that westbound passengers could be transferred to Weller's Stage.

After Belleville and Trent Port began to be visited by steamers such as the "Sir James Kempt", "Britannia", "Kingston", "Perseverance" and the "Brockville", the importance of both sites as ports and market towns grew. The produce of the back settlements was exported from these towns aboard fast steamers. Accordingly, bateau traffic declined rapidly, although John Fanning of Belleville operated a bateau to Montreal as late as the 1830's.

Early steamboat travel was risky. In the summer of 1833 the "Britannia" and the "Sir James Kempt" were in collision, the former sinking. On November 27, 1834, the "Kingston", described as a "fine boat of 110 feet long and 16 feet beam. . . propelled by an engine of forty-five horse power", sank at Belleville. Enroute from Kingston the vessel had passed through some ice near Picton. A leak was detected but it was soon repaired by the captain and engineer "nailing a board on the outside". Then four miles from Belleville the "Kingston" encountered stronger ice and a significant leak developed. The captain ordered the boat to proceed, which she did until she sank just off the Belleville harbour. Fortunately there was no loss of life.

Meanwhile, stage coach owners, farmers, and businessmen were pressing for improved land transportation. In 1831 the County road commissioners spent £100 on roads and bridges, one contractor undertaking "to chop and cler the road forty foot wide" in Huntingdon and Rawdon.

A major project completed in 1831 was the rebuilding of the road connecting Belleville and Napanee. In 1830 the provincial government had set aside £800 for this work.

Then after much "difficulty and delay" in deciding which route was to be improved, the commissioners, headed by Allan Macpherson of Napanee, divided the proposed work into eighteen sections and called for tenders. On June 15, 1830, the commissioners met at the house of Larry Lewis, inn keeper in the Mohawk Tract and awarded seventeen contracts to the lowest tenders. The eighteenth section of the road passed through the Mohawk Tract, and the chiefs and warriors agreed to supply two hundred days of volunteer labour in widening and clearing the woods. Volunteers in Richmond Township also supplied more than two hundred days in taking out pine stumps to widen the road. A group headed by Reverend Thomas Campbell of Belleville passed the hat to raise over 30 pounds to provide provisions and superintendents over the Mohawks, and surveyor Samuel Benson volunteered his services. Thanks to this response, the work was completed early in February, 1831. Yet, as Allan Macpherson pointed out in his final report, the road was still inadequate. The bridges across the Salmon River, Sucker Creek, and the Napanee River were unsafe and sections of the road were rough. Macpherson felt that an additional £800 was needed to make the road "good and passable."

Terrible roads were not the only problem faced by travellers. Careless, inefficient stage drivers also made travel difficult. Reverend Anson Green, a Methodist minister who several times preached in south Hastings, has left us a delightful account of an adventure which befell him in 1828 while travelling from Toronto to Kingston: "It had been raining, but the moon began to glimmer through the clouds as we were going up the Trenton Hills, where our driver fell asleep. The horses, left to their instincts, resolved to take a drink, and soon we were upset in a ravine just wide and

deep enough to take in our carriage completely. The stupid driver found himself on the opposite bank when he awoke; but we were engulfed in the ditch. We had three on each seat, one of whom was a very loquacious old maid, and she screamed out fearfully 'I am killed, I am dead, I really am dead, what shall I do! The poor creature! Though I had two men on top of me and my arm in the water, I was sure that I was not dead; and I tried to convince her that she was still alive, but all in vain . . .

"The stage door was so tightly fastened that we could not open it; and those who were lying on top of us seemed to be confused and stupid. After a little the driver managed to shove open a small window, through which, one after an other, we emerged from our dismal position. . . . .
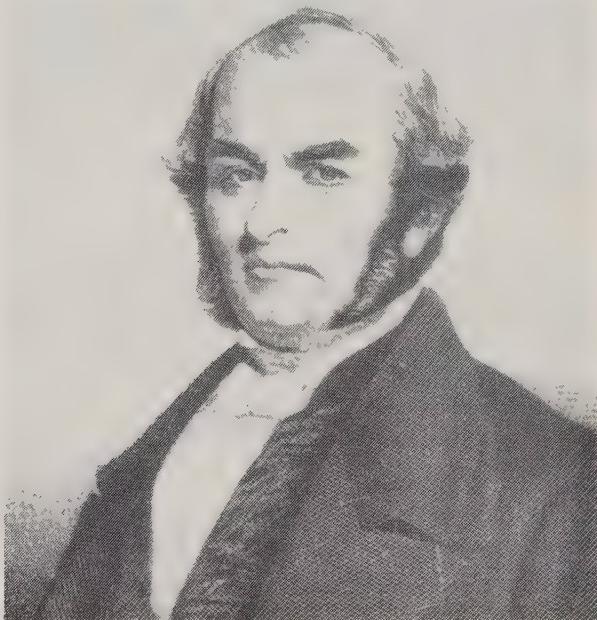
REVEREND ANSON GREEN

"Our driver, never more than half awake, gave up in despair. He declared that we could not get that stage out . . .But. . . .I told them if they would help me we would be off again in half an hour. By the aid of the horses hitched to the wheels, and rails to pry with, we placed our carriage on the road, mended the broken tongue with the halters, and were soon on our journey."

In July, 1833, Patrick Shirreff found conditions of stage travel almost intolerable. The average speed by mail-stage was three miles per hour and the driver "stopped two hours at a hotel notwithstanding our anxiety to get him away". A later visitor complained that her stage driver stopped at "every tavern between Belleville and Trenton".

Travel by horseback had its problems also. Reverend Anson Green tells how his horse, a noble animal with "the fault of stumbling", deposited him in the mud as he was on his way to preach near Trenton in 1825.

Weller's Stage. Shown arriving at Finkle's Tavern, Bath, in the 1820's, this red and gold stage with the royal coat-of-arms on the side was a common sight on the Kingston Road. The fare from Belleville to Toronto in the 1830's was £1. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

"It was rainy, and I held my umbrella over my head, musing upon my sermon. But I soon found myself in one place, my horse in another, and my umbrella some distance from both of us. I scarcely knew what to do. The congregation was waiting for me near by, but I looked more like a toper who had been rolling in the mud, than a divine on his way to the pulpit. But all's well that ends well. I rubbed off the thickest of the mud; the people waited patiently, and we had a thankful and joyous time together."

One of the most unusal stories about early travel concerns the ferry between Belleville and Ameliasburgh Township. This ferry had begun operation when Belleville was still known as Meyers' Creek, and the importance of this service led to its operator, David Hennesey, being exempted from military service in the War of 1812. After Hennesey's death his widow kept the ferry for several years. Then in 1832, Alexander Oliphant Petrie of Belleville was awarded a seven year licence to operate a ferry for a £15. 12s. 9d annual rent. Unfortunately business was poor, since others operated rival services.

Matters came to a head in the summer of 1833 when the agent of an American circus company approached Petrie to take the circus, including "wild beasts and stage dancers", from the Prince Edward County shore to Belleville. A price of fifteen shillings was agreed upon. For three consecutive days Petrie crossed to Ameliasburgh where he awaited the arrival of the troop from its engagement at Hallowell (Picton). When the company finally arrived, it hired the larger Hennesey boat to cross to Belleville.

Petrie was infuriated. He sent a challenge to the circus agent and two days later accosted him, presented a loaded pistol to his breast, and demanded three· dollars at the peril of his life. The agent paid the money and demanded a receipt, which Petrie gave. Amazingly, this transaction took place in daylight in front of several witnesses on Belleville's lower bridge.

Petrie was then arrested, charged with armed robbery and lodged in Kingston gaol. At his trial in August, he pleaded that the money demanded was simply the contract price to which he was legally entitled as the licensed operator of the ferry. After lengthy deliberation, the jury found him guilty and on the morning of August 6, the sentence of death was rendered by Justice J. B. Macaulay. That same afternoon, Justice Macaulay wrote to the government recommending the case as a proper one for royal clemency. Petrie's cause was also taken up by the Kingston press and the citizens of Belleville. He was described as a "man of integrity and upright and honourable feelings" and Reverend Thomas Campbell wrote that Petrie would rather "submit to Martyrdom in its most excruciating form than do an act that he considered dishonourable or mean". The government pardoned Petrie.

Released from custody, Petrie returned to the ferry service, but some of the people who had testified to his honesty and reliability now began to find fault with his service. Henry W. Yager criticized Petrie's lack of faithfulness and announced that he was prepared to fit out a boat powered by two horses to offer improved service. Augustus Bennett complained of the "great inconvenience sustained by the public" because of inefficient ferry service and proposed to use horse power and later steam power. It was insinuated that Petrie might know something about rival ferry boats having been "broken in someway unknown". Despite these charges and insinuations by Petrie's jealous commercial rivals, the local citizens generally continued to regard him highly and in 1841 he served as president or mayor of the village of Belleville.

By the 1830's, the basis had been laid for the present road pattern in south Hastings. The Dundas Road (York to Kingston) was the most important highway; then the roads from Belleville to Selden's Mills (Stirling), from Stirling east to Marmora and Mackenzie's in Madoc Township, and from Belleville north along the east bank of the Moira to Munro's Mills (Tweed) with a branch to the east end of Stoco Lake. Most of these roads, with the exception of the Dundas Road were kept up by statute labour, which system was unsatisfactory. At best the roads were only dirt roads with corduroy in the wet places. Yet they were an improvement over the paths of the pioneer days. Moreover, stage coach service to some of the county towns was in operation by 1836. Daily stages with four-horse teams connected Belleville with Kingston and Toronto. Only with the coming of the railroad would this system be radically changed.

Chapter 13

The Rebellion of 1837-38

*"Belleville . . . and . . . the township of Sidney afforded
many specimens of furious revolutionists . . . The dread
of the (Mohawk) Indians kept these people in check,
however, their road to Kingston lying through the Ind-
ian settlement . . ."*

(Lt. Col. Bonnycastle, commander of the militia at Kingston, 1837-38).

The Rebellion of 1837-38 is often regarded as a comic-opera chapter
in Canada's history. Lacking the obvious drama and success of the Amer-
ican Revolution, it has been neglected by some historians. But to those
persons who lived through the period, the rebellion held great significance:
it represented the logical, though unfortunate, outcome of a growing reform
movement whose aim was to limit the power, privileges, and possessions
of a favoured few friends of government. In the 1830's the reform move-
ment had three main branches: the Radicals associated with William Lyon
Mackenzie believing in violence, if necessary, to gain their ends; the
Moderates under Robert Baldwin who did not think that rebellion was
the logical outcome of a reform movement; and the group led by Methodist
Egerton Ryerson who resented the privileged position of the Anglican
Church, but split with the Reformers in 1833, believing that their leaders
were atheists and republicans. It was Mackenzie and the Radicals who were
responsible for the bloodshed of the rebellion.

The causes of the rebellion were to be found in Hastings County as
they were to be found throughout the rest of the province. The problem
of a land system granting large acreage to friends of the government, while
making it difficult for bona fide settlers to obtain land, was present
locally. The fact that in 1825 fewer than fifty settlers were located in
Marmora Township and only twelve in Madoc Township was blamed on
the district land board, which was too distant from the local settler and
often assigned poor land. The Canada Company was accused of prevent-
ing settlement on its valuable lands in Hastings County, holding them in re-
serve until its poorer lands elsewhere were sold. The privileged position
of the Church of England as seen in the system of clergy reserves was re-
sented in this centre of Methodism. Government patronage in giving posit-
ions to friends of the ruling aristocracy was also a factor.

Probably the birth of the reform movement in the Bay of Quinte
region took place before 1820 when Robert Gourlay arrived from Scot-
land. Described by one historian as a congenital dissident, an inveterate
scribbler and a stiff-necked individualist, Gourlay was dismayed by the
slow progress of his new country. In October, 1817, he circulated a
questionnaire throughout Upper Canada to find out the reasons for this

slow settlement. About forty township meetings were held, including one in Thurlow Township on February 6, 1818, where James McNabb, Simon McNabb, John W. Meyers, John Canniff, and other loyal subjects drew up a statistical report which concluded that the township's improvement was retarded by the lack of adequate yeoman population and insufficient money invested in agriculture.

Gourlay now became convinced that the government had been guilty of gross mismanagement and he called for new township conventions to select representatives to protest directly to the British government. Such a meeting was held in Thurlow Township on June 6,1818, Thomas Coleman being selected to represent that township, while Jacob W. Meyers was chosen to represent Sidney. The meeting voiced its approval of Gourlay's efforts, as did a similar meeting at John Ketcheson's Sidney Township home later in June. An alarmed government quickly arrested Gourlay in Kingston in June, 1818, on a charge of criminal libel. Released on bail, later arrested at Brockville, acquitted by a court and then re-arrested, he was finally forced to leave the province in 1819.

Gourlay's influence remained, however. Among his followers was Thomas Coleman, a leading Belleville merchant who, like Gourlay, was charged with seditious libel. Addressing a Kingston reform meeting on September 8, 1818, Coleman bitterly attacked his accuser in the case, James McNabb, a government supporter in the Legislative Assembly representing Hastings County and Ameliasburgh Township. McNabb was described as "a mean malignant man" who had treated Coleman to several drinks at Nelson's Tavern in order to loosen his tongue and make him say something seditious. Coleman responded by damning Governor Gore and accusing the government supporters of filling their own pockets with £3000 at the expense of the public. Coleman denied calling the Crown ministers "a damned set of perjured villains", claiming that McNabb must be lying. To Coleman's charges, James McNabb replied that he had no objections to meet "this scurrilous and most turbulent person" in further "warfare by paper", but that for the moment his mind was "more usefully employed for the benefit of my worthy constituents", than in stooping so low as to spend more time replying to Coleman's assertions. Certainly local political life in the early 1800's was not dull, and one wonders how McNabb and Coleman survived at all, being adjacent property owners on the west bank of the Moira River in Belleville.

The reform movement continued to grow in strength, challenging the existing order. More than one political meeting called to discuss issues of common concern broke up into two hostile camps. For example, on March 10, 1832, the inhabitants of Hastings County were called to attend a meeting in the Court Room at Belleville to discuss reform leader William Lyon Mackenzie's criticisms of the system of government. About eight hundred persons were present and feelings ran high. No sooner had the local member of parliament, Mr. Samson, begun to expose the "false-

hood, absurdity, and inconsistency" of Mackenzie's position, than some of the Reformers began to interrupt him "at almost every sentence he uttered". When the chairman made no real effort to quell the interruptions, Samson's supporters prepared to do battle. Sensing this movement, Samson jumped from the platform and was immediately raised on the shoulders of his friends and carried into Nelson's Tavern, followed by over half of those present. A new chairman was selected, an address of loyalty and obedience was drafted to His Most Gracious Majesty, and about four hundred persons signed the address on the spot. Meanwhile the original chairman, "taking the hint", had walked off with the "glorious minority" to the Belleville Hotel where further criticism of the government was voiced.

Similarly, at a meeting at the Court Room in 1836, "it was determined by noise and confusion that there should be no discussion". Again two separate meetings resulted, and 716 Belleville citizens finally signed a petition supporting the Lieutenant-Governor. An almost identical statement of support resulted from another Constitutional Meeting held at Trent Port (Trenton) in April, 1836. These meetings followed a personal visit to Belleville and Trenton by Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, who almost lost his life after leaving Belleville when his winter sleigh was involved in an accident.

Throughout the early 1830's Hastings County normally elected one member to the government side and one member to the reform side of the Assembly. The government member until his death in the early 1830's was James H. Samson, a tactful politician. On May 4, 1836, the Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette* described the election of his successor in this way:

"THE RADICALS DEFEATED — AND TOTALLY VANQUISHED BY THE GLORIOUS RE-ACTION AT HASTINGS.

"James McNabb, Esq. the Constitutional candidate, elected by a majority of eleven votes, having forty-four more in reserve.

"It is with infinite satisfaction we announce above the glorious results of the contest for the County of Hastings, which terminated on Sunday afternoon at sun down by the return of James McNabb, Esq. the constitutional member. Such a result, so gratifying to the orderly and loyal of the land, at any time, is doubly so at this time . . ."

                          *   *   *

Among the leading Reformers of Hastings County was Stephen Benson of Belleville who, in a letter to a local member of the assembly, suggested the bitterness of William Lyon Mackenzie and many other Reformers toward the appointed Legislative Council over which the voters had little or no control:

". . . I hope sincerely the Legislative Council will not Tomahawk all the good Bills you have already and may yet pass. Should it however be the
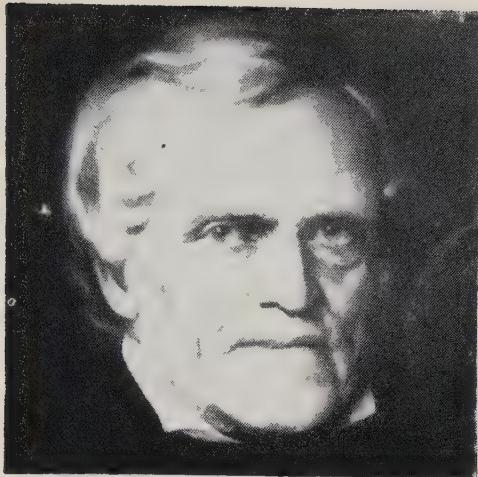
William Lyon Mackenzie
1795-1861
Politician and Rebel

Case (which is most likely) it will arouse public opinion to the mad career of that House of Corruption and finally end in its total annihilation."

An economic depression in the late 1830's also caused discontent. The Bank of the Midland District suspended payments in August, 1837, and a Belleville school teacher wrote: "The times are very hard here. I can hardly get money enough to rub along with. As to my school I get along very well. I get more scholars than money."

Growing unrest forced the government to prepare for any eventuality, even armed rebellion. As a result, the First Hastings Yeomanry Cavalry under Captain D. Perry was formed in 1835. A volunteer corps, the Hastings Cavalry consisted of about fifty men on the eve of the Rebellion, and Perry offered the services of his force on a permanent basis in November, 1837.

In a letter published in the Kingston press on November 24, 1837, Captain Perry also commented on the spirit of loyalty "that is bursting forth in all well disposed men in this neighbourhood", notwithstanding the "Terrible Meeting at Hayden's ", a reference to a reform meeting at Dr. Hayden's (now Corbyville). The next month, Dr. Hayden and several other prominent citizens suspected of radical reform views were arrested by local militia forces, charged with high treason and taken under armed guard to Kingston gaol.

As the Hastings militia gathered at Belleville to show its loyalty and to put down any possible rebellion, an unfortunate accident occurred. Early one morning the fire bell was sounded to summon the volunteer fire fighters. However, militia men guarding prisoners in a tavern mistook it as a warning that Reformers were trying to free some prisoners in the tavern. The men dressed hurriedly and in moving through one of the darkened passages, Captain James McNab of the First Hastings Rifles ran upon the bayonet of one of his men. He died twenty-four hours later.

The same month the only other local fatality occurred in a "melancholy manner" at a tavern in Shannonville where William Church of that village, a dragoon guard escorting the mail through the Indian Woods, had stop-

ped for refreshment. Another dragoon, in loosening his cloak, let his pistol fall. The pistol struck the stove and discharged, fatally wounding Church.

Meanwhile the militia gathering at Belleville found itself without adequate arms and ammunition. A deputation visited Kingston, and on the evening of December 8, 1837, the steamer "Kingston" set out for Belle-

BOARD OF POLICE.

SATURDAY, November 25.

The price of Flour being 30 shillings per barrel, Bakers will sell their bread at Sevenpence halfpenny a loaf, the ensuing week.

G. BENJAMIN.
Clerk.

The Belleville Board of Police (council) posted this notice on November 25, 1837.

ville carrying fifteen hundred weapons, ammunition, a protective guard of Kingston militia, and the members of the Belleville deputation headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Manahan of the Second Hastings Regiment.

Near Deseronto the "Kingston" was stopped by ice and was forced to put in to John Cuthbertson's wharf. Despite the early morning hour the call went out for aid, and in a few hours the guns had been transferred into a dozen wagons and the party started off for Belleville. Leading the way were the Mohawks in battle dress, a sight calculated to impress upon the citizens of Belleville the Indians' loyalty and the strength of the Crown's forces.

After the loyalty of the Belleville area had been assured, any possible rebellion leaders having been jailed, the local forces turned their attention to Kingston where it was expected that Reformers under Van Rensselaer might strike across the ice from American bases at the same time as attacks were launched against Kingston by way of the Gananoque Road from the east and the Napanee Road from the west. In late February fifty officers and men of the Belleville Rifle Company under Captain Wellington Murney, two companies of the Second Hastings Militia under Captains McKenzie and McAnnany, and Captain Portt with about seventy Mohawk warriors arrived at Kingston. The Indians were reported to have been in "high spirits" and "anxious for a little play".

Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Bonnycastle, commander of the militia at Kingston, believed that the attack on Kingston was scheduled for February 22, 1838. Accordingly to protect his western flank, he sent "proper persons to Belleville, to watch the disaffected there", instructed the Prince Edward militia to surround the rebels believed gathering near Napanee, and sent the Mohawk Indians "under the guise of deer hunting parties" out along the approaches leading to Kingston.

On the night of the twenty-first, Bonnycastle was awakened from his rest by a Belleville militia officer who had ridden posthaste to announce that the rebels had commenced their march on Kingston. The Hastings County militia was in arms and the alarm was ringing at Belleville. However, the land attack on Kingston failed to materialize although near Napanee a few prisoners were taken, including an American gunsmith from Belleville who was armed with a bowie knife and other "murderous" weapons, including special bullets designed "to render a wound as painful and as difficult of cure as possible".

Bonnycastle paid high praise to the Mohawks when he noted that the potential revolutionaries of the Belleville-Napanee area were kept in check by "the dread of the Indians".

Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Bonnycastle
(1791-1847).

The threatened attack on Kingston from the Watertown area of New York State failed to materialize. However, to safeguard the eastern flank the Belleville Riflemen and a "strong force of Indian warriors" (actually only eleven Indians) were sent to reinforce Gananoque.

Bonnycastle, a romanticist and a believer in strong empire, was made a Mohawk chief before the Indians returned to Tyendinaga. He writes: "I was led forth in full regimentals ... and with the utmost gravity had to dance the war-dance of the tribe, to smoke the calumet of peace and fellowship, and to declare my willingness to become a chief." His Indian name was Anadaheso (he who summons the town).

Unlike most other soldiers at Kingston, the Indians served without pay. According to Bonnycastle: "These Indians were a part of that militia, being regularly organized under a captain leader and three chiefs; but they served, excepting the captain who was a militia officer, without pay, scorning to re-
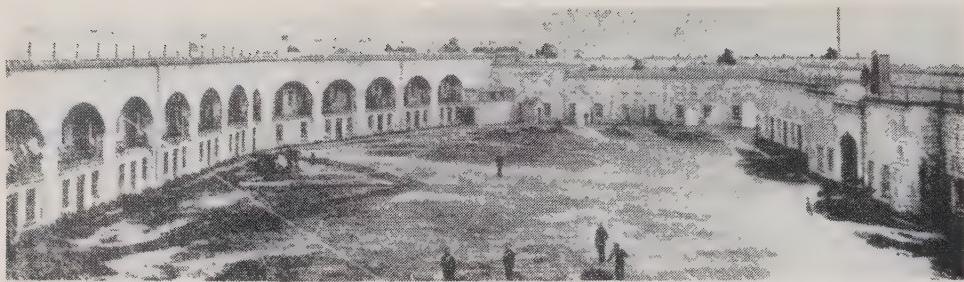
Fort Henry in the mid nineteenth century.

ceive it in the defence of their Great Mother, and their beloved country. A fowling-piece or two, a few yards of silk, some silk handkerchiefs for their squaws, who were left at home, and a trifling quantity of tobacco, powder and shot, sent them back to their woods as happy as possible."

In the summer of 1838 the threat to the Kingston area subsided. Some of the soldiers returned from Kingston to the Belleville area, and the Hastings County Reformers who had been imprisoned at Kingston were gradually released. By July only Nelson Reynolds remained to be tried, and he, like the others before him, was soon acquitted. Their release did not go unnoticed. A number of "serious offences against the peace" were reported in the press: fences were thrown down and "during the dead of night" shots were fired into the houses of several respectable men who had given evidence against the Reformers. Perhaps the government had been too clement.

The release of the prisoners and the activities of Bill Johnson, "the Pirate of the St. Lawrence", led to the county and town being "in a most excited state". Local citizens returning from the United States and an intercepted letter warned that the pirates and their friends in Hastings County would "set fire to Belleville and plunder it". Accordingly the magistrates asked that a permanent military force be established at Belleville; a pair of cannon was also considered necessary. Until these steps were taken, the local authorities would continue to post a nightly guard. As a result of these reports the postmasters at Belleville, Port Trent (Trenton), and Frankford were instructed to check the mails for suspicious letters.

In the fall of 1838 there was a greater threat of attack by the Reformers and their American allies, the Hunter Lodges, who were determined to "liberate" Canada from Britain. Accordingly the government prepared a garrison battalion of 100 men established at Belleville, each man to receive a bounty of £2 with clothing and army pay. "Better late than never", commented the Kingston press. The First Hastings Cavalry was also called into active service at Belleville under Benjamin Dougall. As well, other troops raised the preceding year were placed on active service and the offer of Captain George Fraser's company of the Third Hastings Rifles for six months service was accepted. The militia forces at Belleville were under the command of Major Warren, whose report of October 26, 1838, indicates something of the loyalties of the county's

inhabitants: "It appears that the population of the two frontier townships of Sidney and Thurlow including the town of Belleville are inclined to rise against the government, and I believe they frequently hold meetings and carry a correspondence with the States for the purpose of arranging plans to that effect. The two Townships in the immediate rear of these, Rawdon and Huntingdon, are I understand better affected. Huntingdon I believe is tolerable loyal and about one half of Rawdon might be trusted. Marmora and Madoc are again in the rear of these. Marmora I believe is not much settled but the few who are there are Loyal. Madoc is also thinly inhabited and generally loyal. The Townships of Tyendinaga and Hungerford may be looked upon generally as Loyal although there are some bad characters in them. Then again to the Westward in the Front joining Sidney lies the Township of Murray which might be looked upon as loyal with the exception of the village of Brighton and Presqu'ile, and from there to the Carrying Place distant ten miles where there are violent Reformers if nothing more and consequently should be watched as Presqu'ile is the best harbour on Lake Ontario... I should therefore beg leave to suggest the propriety of stationing a Company in that neighbourhood." Less than a month later, two hundred soldiers under Major Warren were stationed at Presqu'ile.

Major Warren's estimates of the loyalties of the local townships generally coincided with those of H. C. McCollum. A Belleville merchant who had taken refuge in the United States during the rebellion, McCollum wrote that 482 persons had "pledged themselves upon oath, to embark their lives, Honour and fortunes in the cause of liberty". He estimated the number of these "pledged Patriots" at 165 in Sidney, 93 in Thurlow, 86 in Rawdon, 41 in Belleville, and 37 in Tyendinaga, with smaller groups in the other townships. All were in possession of arms and would have joined Mackenzie on his march to Kingston, if the Toronto attack had been successful.

Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Rottenburg was the provincial government's chief representative and militia commander in the county. His reports from October, 1838, to December, 1839, told the government of the landing of arms near Point Anne, secret meetings in Sidney, "Strange waggon movements, threats of vengeance and retaliation", riots at Brighton, and outrages in Sidney and Thurlow, the latter turning out to be simple, non-political crimes.

From November to mid-May the militia forces at Belleville were quartered near Coleman and West Bridge streets in a building rented for £75 a year. Then they and forces at the River Trent (Trenton), Frankford, and Brighton were "suffered to depart to their homes, where their presences was required in the cultivation of their farms". Before disbanding, the officers gave a public banquet at Belleville for Baron de Rottenburg,

Provincially, the highlight of this stage of the rebellion was the attack near Prescott by Von Shoultz, an American filibusterer. As a result of

this Battle of the Windmill, November 12, 1838, Von Shoultz was hanged at Kingston, despite his being defended at the courtmartial by John A. Macdonald, then a rising younger lawyer. Locally, the highlight was the wrecking of a Belleville newspaper, the *Plain Speaker*. This paper had attracted widespread attention because of its exciting, anti-government editorials; and on November 8 Attorney-General Charles Hagerman had recommended that the post office refuse to circulate it. Instructions for the arrest of the publisher, Samuel Hart, had also been sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Rottenburg, special government agent at Belleville. However, the arrest had not been made, since Colonel de Rottenburg felt that the paper "was fast sinking into the insignificance it so justly merits" and that Hart's influence in the country was "slowly declining". Then in the issue announcing the government's victory at the Windmill, the Queen's Coat of Arms at the head of a proclamation was accidentally replaced by the Coat of Arms of a Lower Canadian rebel. The mistake was corrected before many copies were printed, but the next evening just before closing hour, "The super-loyal (among them some of the Militia) attacked the printing-office . . . and threw much of the type" into the street. Two companies of soldiers were stationed close to the printing office and Colonel de Rottenburg was somewhat embarrassed by the fact that no attempt was made to stop the attack. After the vandalism, military guards were placed on the premises, and the following day the magistrates posted a reward of one hundred dollars for the discovery of those persons responsible.

Tradition has it that the foreman of the paper was also dragged through the slush and mud, but this story was denied by the foreman, (Reverend) James Gardiner. The publisher of the paper, Samuel Hart, was not present on the day of the accident, but he was known to have been a Reform supporter. Later he was sentenced to seven years in Kingston Penitentiary for taking part in a rebel raid on a Cobourg bank.

A similar punishment was meted out to John O'Carroll, a local merchant. On nineteen occasions the glass in his windows and door was broken. He was imprisoned for eight weeks at Fort Henry. Some groceries were thrown out into the street by armed militia men who also intimidated his customers so that they were "in dread of their lives". From May, 1839, to September, 1840, O'Carroll found it impossible to keep his store and inn open. Finally he was obliged to sell his property and was reduced to a debtor. All this resulted because O'Carroll was supected of being an active rebel sympathizer. He had been an active letter writer in an attempt to raise pledges of cash and money for a new Roman Catholic Church, and these many letters made him suspect in the eyes of some members of the militia. In later years his heirs received some compensation.

Despite the end of hostilities tension remained. Fires of "unknown origin" destroyed the barns of William and George Portt of Tyendinaga, Sheldon Hawley's house at Trent River, and Bernard Smith's log house at

Honourable discharge certificate of Private George Barlow.

Frankford in the late fall of 1839. The government offered a reward of £100 for information leading to the discovery and conviction of the persons responsible.

Arriving in Belleville in 1839, Susanna Moodie noted that "the state of society . . . was everything but friendly or agreeable". The town was divided into "two fierce political factions", and Mrs. Moodie observed that the Tories regarded any person wishing a change as a traitor. Despite her intense loyalty for the British Crown and institutions, she was later sympathetic towards Mackenzie and actively supported the moderate Reform leader, Robert Baldwin, after whom she christened a son born in 1843.

This changing attitude was reflected in the government's decision to compensate those citizens who had suffered unfair hardships during the rebellion. Almost 75 per cent of the 120 claimants received compensation in 1846 from a special commission set up in the Victoria District, as Hastings County was then known. Petitioners ranged from the Thurlow resident who sought damages of £52 for three days imprisonment in Belleville, during which the claimant caught cold and lost his eyesight, to the Sidney farmer who spent almost three months in prison at Fort Henry and then was discharged without trial: neither petition was granted. Successful applicants requested payment for moving provisions from Belleville to Fort Henry, serving as special constables, repairing houses used as barracks at Belleville, supplying horses for Captain Benson's cavalry, and providing black crepe and blank ammunition for Captain McNab's funeral. John Cuthbertson submitted a bill for 37 breakfasts for the men who landed at his Deseronto wharf in November, 1837, when ice forced the "Kingston" to stop. The Portts of Tyendinaga received £420 for losses due to incendiarism.

The rebellion was followed by a closer look at our system of government. Lord Durham's celebrated mission to Canada in 1838 would stress such matters as the need for greater provincial control over purely Canadian matters and the importance of improved municipal government, recommendations that would influence our local government.

Thus the Rebellion of 1837, comic-opera though it may appear in many ways, had a significant impact on Hastings County.

Beginning of Municipal Government

Municipal government affects the average citizen in more ways than either the provincial or federal government, yet it is frequently the least publicized level of government.

John George Lambton, first Earl of Durham, arrived in Canada on May 28, 1838. His mission was to determine what had caused the 1837-38 Rebellions and to suggest what might be done to prevent further outbreaks. In his historic report (1839) Lord Durham stressed the need for improved municipal government, a recommendation with which most people in Hastings County must have agreed, since local government at that time was in a state of some confusion. There was no county government as such, local affairs being handled by the Courts of Quarter Sessions or by appointed justices of the peace. Only the police village of Belleville had a separate council (1836), and its authority was limited.

Lord Durham (1792-1840), from a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The development of municipal government was a slow process. In the first years of settlement small local disputes were settled by outstanding local citizens, usually the highest ranking retired army officers who had served in the American Revolution. In 1788 the area between the Gananoque and Trent rivers was set up as the Mecklenburgh District with a judge and sheriff to administer justice by means of the Courts of Common Pleas. The district, later renamed the Midland District, comprised Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, Prince Edward, and Hastings counties. Despite the creation of counties in 1791, the district was the important body for local government. Its Court of Quarter Sessions consisting of the appointed magistrates of the district exercised "a taxing and regulating authority"

after 1789. The Court controlled the levying of taxes to build roads and bridges, the granting of public charity, the licensing of tavern keepers, and in early times the granting of authority to solemnize marriage. Although it met twice yearly in Adolphustown and twice yearly in Kingston, its controls applied to Hastings County.

On the other hand the counties served only as areas for the registration of land titles, the organization of militia battalions, and frequently the selection of members of parliament.

This form of local administration was not acceptable to many of the early settlers who had come from the Thirteen Colonies where local government had been largely based on the town meeting. The distance from Kingston and Adolphustown, the seats of district government, led the inhabitants of Sidney Township to hold such an annual meeting at least as early as 1790. The minutes of a later meeting held on May 3, 1791, suggest the matters discussed. Township officers were selected, including John W. Meyers as moderator, Caleb Gilbert as town clerk, and William Lounsberry as constable, as well as two path masters to supervise roadways and two fenceviewers. Also the town clerk was instructed to collect six pence for entering each person's cattle mark so that stolen or strayed cattle would be more easily recognised.

These early Sidney Township meetings were held three years before town meetings were made legal. Indeed, they and other contemporary town meetings were held "rather in defiance of the authorities at Niagara, whom the American Revolution had led to distrust democracy". By July, 1793, however, the force of public opinion persuaded the provincial assembly to pass the Municipal Act authorizing the town meeting form of local government. Such annual meetings now could perform legally the functions that the Sidney town meeting had been performing for three years. Yet, an annual meeting could not assume all functions of municipal government, and the justices of the peace, either individually or combined in the Court of Quarter Sessions, would remain the real basis of local government in the early 1800's

As the nineteenth century progressed, the demand for better local government increased. As early as March, 1817, the inhabitants of Hastings County and Ameliasburgh Township sought district status in a petition to the provincial government. The proposed district would include the townships of Sidney, Thurlow, Rawdon, Huntingdon, and Hungerford in Hastings County; Ameliasburgh and Sophiasburgh in Prince Edward County; and Percy, Murray, and Seymour in Northumberland; as well as the Tyendinaga Mohawk Tract. By an eight to four vote, the Legislative Assembly turned down the request. Similar petitions in 1818, 1823, and 1825 were also denied despite active promotion by such prominent citizens as Captain John Meyers; William Bell; Reverend Thomas Campbell, Anglican minister at Belleville; and Charles Hayes, proprietor of the Marmora Iron Works.

The separation in 1831 of Prince Edward County from the Midland District and its formation into a separate Prince Edward District encouraged local citizens to think that a similar separation might follow for Hastings County. Prince Edward County had achieved its own government because of its distance from Kingston, the need for a separate court house and jail, and a population of about ten thousand. Hastings County, at a greater distance from Kingston and possessing a larger population than Prince Edward, felt entitled to equal treatment. A correspondent to a Toronto newspaper summed up the problem this way:

"There is no community of interest with the town of Kingston: our Magistrates will not attend, nor I believe never have attended the Quarter Sessions of the District; the rates for some Townships have not been collected, felons are often allowed to escape rather than incur the trouble and expense of prosecuting at Kingston, in consequence of which crime has become fearfully great." Reuben White of Sidney Township also called attention to the problem: "Our Sidney people have just returned as Jurymen from the Sessions at Adolphustown and all pray for the division of the district as the travelling was very bad and the fee very poor."

Repeatedly in the 1830's local petitions were sent to Toronto requesting district status for Hastings County. For example, in May 1835, Stephen Benson raised a "Hue & Cry" through Belleville which "created a good deal of sensation" and led to a petition signed by four hundred citizens being sent to Toronto. When this petition was rejected by the Executive Council (cabinet), Benson wrote to his member of parliament: "We must now only submit with a determination to Buckle on our Armour for another desperate struggle next session."

At the same time as inhabitants of the Belleville area were seeking a new district with this town as its centre, a rival plan was being put forth at Trenton. On December 13, 1834, a well attended meeting at Jacob Ford's Inn decided to seek a new district to comprise for its frontage the townships of Thurlow, Sidney, Murray, and Cramahe. Trent Port would be the district town, and it was reported in the press that Sheldon Hawley had actually offered to present the District with a magnificent £3,000 stone building for a jail and court house, on condition that Trent Port be the seat of government.

After weighing the rival proposals, the provincial government decided in March, 1837, that a separate district should be set up and that its boundaries should coincide with existing Hastings County boundaries; Belleville would be the district town.

To facilitate this change in government the local justices of the peace now organized themselves under the chairmanship of Thomas Parker with George Benjamin as clerk. Since the new district would require a court house and gaol, Parker was also named chairman of the building committee, other members being John Turnbull, Henry Baldwin, Anthony Marshall, and Francis McAnnany. A competition was held to select the best plans.
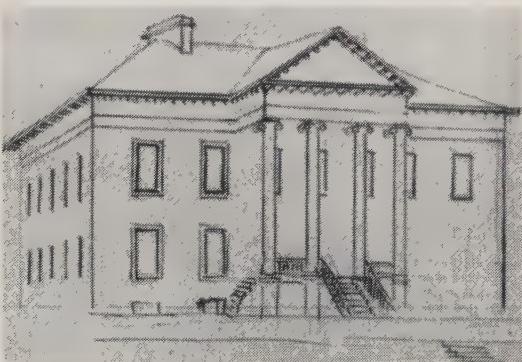
and the first prize of £20 and contract went to Thomas Rogers of Kingston. Robert Matthews and David Duff were to be the builders.

The coming of rebellion later in 1837 delayed the planning to some extent, but on May 30, 1838, the cornerstone was laid with the assistance of the Belleville Masonic Lodge. Work proceeded, and early in 1839 additional workmen were employed so that the building might be ready for the fall courts that year. By the summer of 1839 the local magistrates were able to report to the provincial government that "a good and sufficient Gaol and Court House" had been completed, that one-third of the Midland District debt had been paid by the County of Hastings, and that arrangements for ordinary expenses had been completed. These terms met the requirements of the provincial government and accordingly on July 25, 1839, the Executive Council approved a proclamation to separate the county from the Midland District. The new district was to be the Victoria District, so named after the Queen who had come to the throne only two years earlier.

The Court House (erected at a cost of £10,946) was first used on October 23, 1839, for the fall assizes. Benjamin Dougall was the first judge while J. W. Dunbar Moodie held the office of sheriff, and Edmund Murney was clerk of the peace and county crown attorney. Among the promising young lawyers to appear before the bench in the Court House's first year was John A. Macdonald of Kingston, representing the Commercial Bank.

Thus by 1841, this county had achieved a system of local courts. The question remained as to how much control the people would have in local government. In all likelihood the provincial authorities would act further to implement Lord Durham's recommendation to develop municipal government. But what form would this action take?

Chapter 15

The Victoria District

For a brief period in her history, Hastings County bore the name of one of England's most revered monarchs — Victoria.

From 1839 to 1849 this county was known as the Victoria District. For most of this period municipal government was in the hands of a district council made possible by the District Council Act of 1841. This act granted the people the right to elect members to district councils which had legislative powers similar to those of present county and township councils combined. Accordingly the inaugural meeting of the Victoria District Council on February 8, 1842, represented a further victory for the county's inhabitants in their struggle to gain more independence from Kingston magistrates who until this time had dominated the law-making Court of Quarter Sessions.

The original council minute books of the Victoria District survive and they present an interesting picture of local government in the 1840's. The first warden was William Hutton, the emigrant from Ireland in the 1830's whose letters to the editors of various papers had stressed the advantages of living in the Bay of Quinte region. W. H. Ponton was the district clerk at a salary of £32 per annum. The council's business chiefly concerned roads, bridges, charity, and schools in the nine front townships. For example, the council petitioned the provincial government in 1843 to rebuild the Shannonville Bridge over the Salmon River at a cost of £300, this bridge being in a "dilapidated and dangerous state". The total local tax levy for district schools in 1842 was a modest £537 which was matched by a provincial grant. This was not enough to finance the building of a grammar school at Belleville, and a request by schoolmaster Alexander Burdon to have such a school built in 1845 on the site of the present Belleville Collegiate Institute and Vocational School was turned down.

The small district budget is reflected in the other expenses. Road surveyors for the different townships were paid 7 shillings 6 pence a day, and councillors received no remuneration until 1846 when By-Law Number 27 granted these self-sacrificing gentlemen 6 shillings 3 pence a day, a little less than the surveyors the council employed. The same year William Hutton resigned as warden to become district superintendent of schools at £70 per annum; then from 1853 to his death in 1861 he was secretary of the Bureau of Agriculture in Canada, helping to reorganize that department.

William Hutton was succeeded as warden by George Benjamin, the controversial and enterprising founder of *The Intelligencer* who had also served with distinction as local schoolmaster and was to be elected Grand Master of the Orangemen of British North America in 1848. Roads and bridges remained the most important matters dealt with by council. In 1848

a bill was passed agreeing to construction of a plank road from Belleville to Cannifton. Like many district roads, this was a toll road, the owners agreeing to build and maintain the toll road out of the tolls collected from the users. Unfortunately problems developed, and council was plagued with various complaints. As a result, council in 1849 ordered the owners of all toll roads to place over each toll gate the rate of tolls "in letters sufficiently large so that Travellers may observe and see the same". Meanwhile the toll road owners complained that they would not receive enough compensation in the ten-year contract granted them; the county asked the provincial government to extend the term to twenty or thirty years.

William Hutton (died 1861), first warden of the Victoria District, 1842-46. This picture, presented to County Council in 1898 by Colonel W. N. Ponton, hung for many years over the warden's chair in Shire Hall.

Another important matter dealt with was the problem of registration of land titles in the district. From 1833 to 1844 Robert McLean served as deputy registrar; then it was discovered that deeds brought to him at the registry office were not being entered in the official records. Apparently McLean and a fellow deputy registrar, Robert Smith, would stamp the documents and return both the original and the copy to the client. This eliminated the problem of filing documents, and the registrars are said to have spent much time in the local tavern. Since many persons might suffer "great injury and loss" because they could not legally prove ownership of their land.

a special act of parliament was needed in 1846 to clear up the problem. Persons holding a deed stamped by McLean were given until 1851 to have it registered. Faced by the problem of four thousand deeds and other documents flooding the registry office, the Victoria District Council found a solution by asking the provincial government to pay the costs of registration.

George Benjamin (1799-1864): founder of The Intelligencer, 1834; warden of the Victoria District, 1846-49; warden of Hastings County, 1851-56 and 1859-61; Grand Master of the Orangemen of British North America, 1848; and M.L.A. for North Hastings, 1856-61. (Painting by M. Sawyer, presented to Hastings County Council by Sir John A. Macdonald in 1872).

The district council was also concerned about matters outside its own boundaries. The Irish potato famine and contemporary crop failures in Scotland led the council in 1847 to organize a subscription for "the relief of the destitute and suffering" in those lands. Unfortunately the district treasurer who was appointed to receive these donations died, and a subsequent investigation revealed that a sum of money was missing. Warden Benjamin's political opponents tried to use this discrepancy to embarrass him; however, by a nine to three vote it was decided that various charges laid against the warden were "without fact or foundation". The widow of the deceased treasurer settled the matter when she offered to pay £75 at once and the balance of the missing money in six equal payments.

The Victoria District and its council formally came to a close late in 1849 when a new parliamentary act, the Baldwin Municipal Act, came into effect. By it the system of counties and county councils replaced districts and district councils. The new county councils were to have about the same powers as the old, though the management of local roads was now vested in the townships.

Chapter 16

The District Town

"Situated as Belleville is, nearly at the head of the Bay of Quinte, the very garden of Canada West, it will, we feel satisfied, advance in wealth and population in rapid strides."

(Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, July 9, 1842)

Belleville was a confident community in the 1840's. Its new importance as the seat of the district courts and the district government fostered an optimism among many of its citizens who spoke of it as a flourishing, rapidly advancing village. The court house and gaol dominated the architectural landscape and stressed the importance of law and order. Perhaps as a result, there was less violence than there had been in the earlier decades and during the 1840's there was not one execution at Belleville. Susanna Moodie noted that there was so little robbery in this area "that the thought of thieves and housebreakers never for a moment disturbs our rest", and the editor of the *British Whig* visiting Belleville in 1840 wrote: "The good folks of Belleville, now that they get cheap law at home, do not seem so fond of it as when they had to travel sixty miles down to Kingston . . . It is creditable to the new District, that but few criminals were convicted." Moreover, reports in the Montreal press of a riot in 1846 between three hundred Orangemen and Irish Roman Catholics were branded as false by B. F. Davy, chief engineer of the Belleville Fire Department. According to Davy, drink, not religion, inspired the fracas in Harper's Bar during the Kingston Fire Companies' visit to Belleville. Order was quickly restored, the Kingston firemen were cheered aboard their steamer at the wharf, and a fight three hours later in which Edmund Murney received a severe blow had nothing to do either with the fire company or religious rivalry.

Belleville's prosperity in the 1840's continued to be based on the spring runs of timber down the Moira and the expanding saw mills. Associated industries were established, such as George S. Tickell's furniture factory in 1847. About the same time an edge tool factory was begun by A. E. Proctor and Ellis Burrell on the Moira River (at the foot of Burrell Street adjoining W. S. Smith's Paper Mill) to produce broad and narrow axes, adzes, chisels and all kinds of tools for carpenters and coopers.

The local economy was also based on agriculture. The 1840 harvest was described as "most abundant", and the farmers' granaries "teemed with plenty" although the merchants talked as if bankruptcy threatened. Subsequent wheat harvests in the Moira Watershed suffered severe losses from rust.

The revived annual fairs indicated the agricultural development of this district, and at the Victoria District Agricultural Society Exhibition on October 28, 1848, special commendation was given to the women for show-

ing such good butter. Local produce was sold on Saturdays, generally considered the market-day of the times, although it was only in 1849 that the first frame market-house was erected. The building burned the next year and was replaced by a brick structure, which later housed the police until its demolition in 1965. Susanna Moodie described the early market as being "tolerably supplied with meat and vegetables; but these articles are both dearer and inferior in quality to those offered in Kingston and Toronto". Apparently there was very little competition and Mrs. Moodie noted that the butchers and grocers had things their own way.

Susanna Moodie was the most interesting writer of this period. In *Life in the Clearings* she depicts life in Belleville after her arrival with her husband who had been named first district sheriff in 1839. Her account is as outspoken on this area as her earlier book, *Roughing It In the Bush* was on the Lakefield area near Peterborough, where she lived from 1832 to 1839. She brought the attitudes of London drawing room society to Upper Canada and used them as the standards to judge what she found. If she was prepared to commend the district citizenry for its law-abiding nature, she was equally prepared to condemn the massive, tasteless style of the court house, to berate religious bigots, and to criticize the town's appearance in the early 1840's:

"In spite of the great beauty of the locality, it was but an insignificant, dirty-looking place. The main street of the town (Front Street, as it is called) was only partially paved with rough slabs of limestone, and these were put so carelessly down that their uneven edges, and the difference in their height and size was painful to the pedestrian, and destruction to his shoes, leading you to suppose that the paving committee had been composed of shoemakers."

Similarly she described the buildings:

"The few streets it then possessed were chiefly composed of frame houses, put up in the most unartistic and irregular fa-

shion, their gable ends or fronts turned to the street, as it suited the whim or convenience of the owner, without the least regard to taste or neatness."

Susanna Moodie wrote in this critical manner so that the improvements she noted by 1850 would appear even more striking. Other observers used a similar technique: a correspondent to *The Intelligencer* noted that in 1834 there was not a foot of sidewalk in the town and that after an hour's rain "all was mud and mire"; in 1842 good sidewalks enabled people to travel on foot from the wharf to the mills even in the worst of weather. A good-humoured merchant questioned the degree of improvement in the roads of the 1840's when he advertised: "The mudhole in front of our store is not without a bottom. Drive up, gentlemen, the town is good for damages if you lose your team."

Nothing impressed the visitors to Belleville as much as these sidewalks and the taverns — the sidewalks because of their improved quality and the hotels because of their questionable standards. Certainly there were some better than average hotels such as Munro's Mansion House at the Four Corners, which advertised itself as "the largest, most comfortable, and most conveniently, and pleasantly situated Hotel in Belleville". However, a noted visitor in the person of Sir James Alexander could thus describe his brief stay in 1848:

". . . put up at the George Inn, where for one night they charged the same as for a whole day, that is, one dollar each. Our sleeping accommodation was not worth this, for we were put into a room six feet square, the bed occupying about four, and there was no chair to put one's clothes on."

Visitors to Belleville at this time were more favourably impressed by the splendid churches which stood atop Taylor's Hill on Church Street, flanking the Court House. In 1840 the editor of the *British Whig* commented that these buildings "have a magnificent appearance and give Belleville the air of being a much larger town than it really is."

According to this advertisement for the "Prince Edward", clergymen enjoyed special privileges in the 1800's.

Among other evidences of Belleville's advancement in the 1840's was the establishment of the Belleville Juvenile Total Abstinence Society; the opening on Victoria Avenue in 1843 of the community's first major bank, the Bank of Montreal, managed by George Benjamin; the arrival from England in 1845 of W. Tossell, hair dresser, perfumer, ornamental hair manufacturer and wig-maker who operated a "hair cutting saloon"; and the dedication of the Odd Fellows Hall in April, 1847. District residents must have been losing their "homespun look", since in 1846 there were four hatters, twenty-one tailors, and twenty-two shoemakers. The shoemakers prospered despite American competition. In 1839 the shoemakers of Belleville, both employers and journeymen, launched a "Buy Canadian" campaign. At a well-attended meeting in Dafoe's Tavern, they complained of the immense quantity of "slop or sale work" imported or smuggled into the province from the United States, and called upon their fellow Canadian tradesmen to refuse to mend any of these cheap goods. This appeal appeared in several newspapers with some effect.

A highlight of the period was the significant flood in March, 1844. This flood followed a severe winter terminated by a very sudden thaw that was accompanied by high winds and "deluges of rain". Considerable flooding resulted with losses to several Front Street merchants.

Although Belleville grew during the 1840's and extended its boundaries in 1849 to include the marshes in front of the town, the population growth pattern is somewhat uncertain. In 1840 Susanna Moodie estimated the population to be about 1,500, and two years later *The Intelligencer* set the figure at 1,700. In 1844 the assessment rolls set the official total at 1,926, made up of 588 men, 514 women and 824 children under 16 years of age. A visitor to Belleville in 1846,

These advertisements from the 1840's suggest the great variety of matters included in the local papers. Dr. James Lister was a noted county doctor, and his house was the scene of many early concerts and theatrical performances.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bonnycastle of Kingston, set the population at 4,000, a very generous optimistic figure that the district town would not reach in actual fact for several more years.

Thus the 1840's witnessed the rapid expansion that would continue into the 1850's when Victoria District would become Hastings County and Belleville would become the county town.
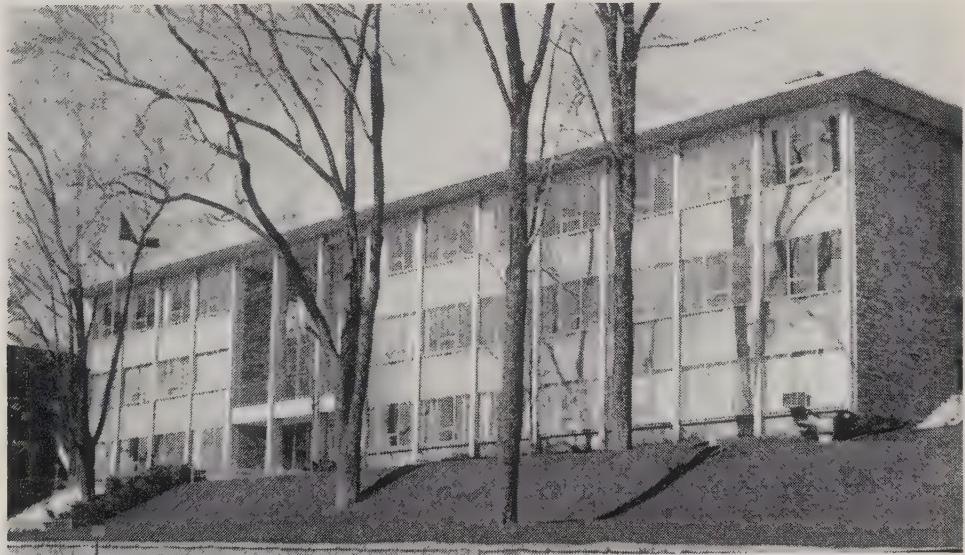
The new County Administration Building was officially opened on January 18, 1961.

Chapter 17

Partisan Politics

> *"Mr. Murney was addressing the one meeting, while Mr.
> Ross was at the same time addressing the other. The
> shouts and noise prevented either of the speakers from
> being distinctly heard, and the whole scene beggars de-
> scription."*
>
> *(Account of political rally in the* Victoria Chronicle, Jan. 3, 1844)

Many citizens took their politics very seriously in the 1840's; and
Belleville, as the district town, was the centre of political activity and in-
trigue.

After Upper and Lower Canada united in 1841 to form the Province
of Canada, Hastings County was entitled to send one member to the Legis-
lative Assembly. The elections invariably were miniature wars between the
Reform supporters of Robert Baldwin of Toronto and the Tories led by
(Sir) Allan McNab of Hamilton. In the early 1840's the chief issue was
the Reformers' belief in "responsible government", a political system in
which provincial matters were to be controlled by the Legislative Assembly
on behalf of the people; and the Executive Council (cabinet) was composed
of ministers having the support of a majority in the assembly.

The 1841 election in Hastings County was an outstanding example of
partisan politics. The Reform candidate was Robert Baldwin himself, re-
cently appointed provincial solicitor-general; and his Tory opponent was
Edmund Murney of Belleville, a member of the Legislative Assembly of
Upper Canada from 1836 to 1840. The campaign was fierce and exhaust-
ing. According to Susanna Moodie, Baldwin's supporters "almost killed him
with kindness. Every house provided a feast in honour of their distinguished
guest, and he was obligated to eat at all." When he arrived at the Moodies
to spend a quiet evening, he asked for no food, saying, "I am sick of the
sight of food".

The election was scheduled for February, but charges of interference
led the government to interrupt the voting and call a new election; Murney
must have been disappointed, since he was leading by 482 to 433 votes
when the election was called off.

A second election writ was issued, and then a third. Finally the polls
opened at Belleville and the township centres early in April. Each elector
had to declare his vote publicly, since there was no secret ballot. When
the poll closed late Saturday evening after several days of voting, the re-
sult was a 36 vote margin for Baldwin, the count being 627 to 591. Murney
immediately objected to the decision, charging the returning officer, Sheriff
Dunbar Moodie, with "intimidation, perjury, and partiality". At a meeting
in Daniel Young's Tavern on May 24, the Hastings Tories supported Mur-
ney's objections, adding that Baldwin should be disqualified because he had

Robert Baldwin (1804-58)

Edmund Murney (d. 1861)

been elected earlier for a York riding. The Conservatives charged that 70 illegal votes had been cast, this accounting for Baldwin's victory.

Nevertheless, Robert Baldwin took his seat in the Legislative Assembly and served briefly in the Executive Council before taking his place on the opposition benches. Then in September, 1842, he and Louis Lafontaine formed a ministry, and Baldwin found it necessary to seek re-election in October, since the law stated that an assemblyman appointed to the Executive Council must seek approval from his constituents. Again he was opposed by Edmund Murney, and again Baldwin was victorious by a narrow margin: 49 votes. The election was marred by "some serious riots", and the Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette* suggested that yet another election might be called.

Because Murney had dared to oppose a minister of the Crown in the election, Governor-General Sir Charles Bagot dismissed him from his position as clerk of the peace for the Victoria District. Murney reacted bitterly, protesting that the election had been a farce, since Baldwin's agents apparently had told the local citizens that the government would dismiss any magistrate, militia officer, or other official who voted for Murney. This threat, coupled with actual violence, had resulted in Baldwin's victory. In protest against the government's decision, Murney also resigned his rank in the Hastings militia.

Murney did not remain out of politics for long. In the next election, November, 1843, Baldwin chose to run for office in Toronto, and Murney won the Hastings seat by defeating "high Tory" Joseph Canniff and "moderate Conservative" Benjamin Dougall. Except for one brief interruption, Murney held this seat in the Legislative Assembly until 1856.

An unusual feature of early political
life was the "bipartisan" rally. Support-
ers of all political parties would meet
together and ostensibly try to reach a
mutual decision on an important issue.
In fact, each group was trying to impress
the voters by appearing stronger in num-
bers and arguments than the rival party.
Such a meeting was held late in Decem-
ber, 1843, at the court house in Belle-
ville. The issue was "responsible gov-
ernment": whether Governor - General
Sir Charles Metcalfe had acted properly
in rejecting the advice of his Reform
ministers. About sixteen hundred per-
sons attended the meeting, so that it had
to move from the court room to the lawn
in front of the court house. The first
division came over the selection of chair-
man. William Robertson and Adam
Henry Meyers of the Trent (Trenton)
moved that William Ketcheson be chair-
man, while Joseph Canniff and John Ross
put forth the name of William Hutton,
the county warden. A division was call-
ed for, and although the *Victoria Chron-
icle* reporter felt that there was a ma-
jority of several hundred in Hutton's
favour, Sheriff Moodie "thought the par-
ties so nearly balanced, that he could not
decide in favour of either". The Re-
formers proposed a count, but Edmund
Murney objected, saying that it would
take too long to count all those present.
After a long debate, the gathering divid-
ed into two separate meetings. At one end of the platform, William Ketche-
son acted as chairman for the Tories, while William Hutton acted as chair-
man for the Reformers at the other end.

According to one observer:

"The utmost excitement prevailed during the progress of the meeting.
Mr. Murney was addressing the one meeting, while Mr. Ross was at the
same time addressing the other. The shouts and noise prevented either of
the speakers from being distinctly heard, and the whole scene beggars de-
scription."

Following the meeting, two separate addresses were forwarded to the
Governor-General. Each address professed loyalty to the Crown, though
disagreeing as to the exact relationship between Crown and Legislative

Assembly. The problem was solved in 1850 with the achievement of "responsible government" in Canada.

The meeting held at the court house in 1843 appears to have been one of the last of the "bipartisan" type in this area. Henceforth political parties became better defined and there was less to be gained from these joint meetings.

The newspapers of the early 1840's reflected the partisan political nature of society. *The Intelligencer* (established 1834) was the Conservative paper, while the *Victoria Chronicle* (established 1841) presented the Reform case. On October 31, 1844, the *Victoria Chronicle* stated the philosophy of contemporary newspaper editors:

"We should be glad to preserve a friendly feeling towards our opponents, as well as towards our friends, when this can be done without a sacrifice of our principles or our rights, but we are not to be coaxed or driven from what we conceive to be right. With all our respect for particular individuals, in private life, when they come out in a public character — become public men — accept situations where the interests of the whole community are affected by their conduct and their acts, we like to see the conduct of such individuals closely looked after, and if the cause be given, remarked upon."

The editor then proceeded sarcastically to attack the supposed innocence of the Conservatives:

"What the Tories say or do is all right, of course; they are such fine, open, above-board sort of people — and are so utterly shocked at the idea of espionage, intrigue, secret societies, and all that sort of thing, that they never do wrong."

Some of the enthusiasm may have gone out of politics at the provincial and national levels; however, recent examples indicate that Canadians still enjoy a good political fight.

The old court house (1839-1961) as it appeared in 1961, showing the original section (right) and the 1910 wing (left).

County Government since 1850

*The citizens of Hastings County have been well served
by their elected representatives.*

Hastings County Council was to deal with many important matters in the years following 1850. Education came under the council's close scrutiny and control at a time when there was little provincial support for schools and Egerton Ryerson had not yet proposed the basis for the present educational structure. In the 1860's the council exercised control over the school inspectors, teachers, and grants. Hastings County Council supported early attempts at railroading building, for example, the Grand Trunk Railway. It pressed for the development of the Trent and Murray Canals and exercised controls over the early toll roads, finally purchasing these roads before 1860 to improve the county road system. In the 1880's it supported the beginnings of the county's first hospital so that local residents might have better medical care, a concern which the present council shares.

Many changes have occurred since the beginning of county government. From a figure of £1,500 in 1850, the county budget has increased 425 times to over $1,787,000 in 1966. Membership in the council has increased with the addition of northern municipalities. At the same time, Belleville and Trenton have become separated municipalities. As more and more people have gained the right to vote for its members, council has become more democratic. As of 1876, wardens have been selected by secret ballot rather than by open voting.

Hastings County Seal,
adopted 1850.

Edward Fidlar, first warden of
Hastings County, 1850.

The first session of Hastings County Council was held on January 28, 1850. Its members were Rufus Holden and Samuel Stevens of Belleville, William Sills and William A. Shory of Thurlow, Gideon Turner and Caleb Gilbert of Sidney, Alexander McLaren and Wellington Frizzell of Tyendinaga, George Benjamin of Hungerford, Anthony Denike of Huntingdon, Edward Fidlar of Rawdon, Laughlin Hughes of Marmora, and John R. Ketcheson of Madoc. After a bitter battle over whether Belleville's population entitled the village to a deputy reeve, council finally elected as its first warden Edward Fidlar, reeve of Rawdon, by a majority of three over George Benjamin. . In other business the first session decided on a county seal, appointed Nelson G. Reynolds as county treasurer, and deliberated whether a new county grammar school was to be erected, finally defeating a proposed grant of £50 to the school.

Also in 1850, council's concern with transportation and poor roads led to a decision that council members residing more than twelve miles from Belleville should be allowed one day's salary in coming and going; this was soon changed to a travelling allowance of six pence a mile. The following year council declared that Dundas Street west of Belleville was decidedly the worst road in the county and that something should be done, perhaps by making it a toll road. A grant of £50 was made toward building the upper bridge over the Moira River in Belleville.

Provision for the registration of deeds caused concern in the 1850's, as the amount of land taken up by settlers increased rapidly. Registry office facilities were rented in a nearby building and the annual rent tripled in the years from 1851 to 1853. The existing court house and gaol lacked accommodation for the registry office, and accordingly it was decided in the early 1850's to erect a separate building due east of the court house. Tenders were called twice, and finally a building to house both registry office and the county clerk was erected in 1854 at a cost of £500. To this building in 1855 was added a second storey council chamber. The building was known as Shire Hall, a shire being an old English word for county. Here county councils were to meet for 106 years. Further improvements to county property came about in 1855 when £75 was set aside for lighting the court house with gas. Heating of the court house and gaol was accomplished by nine box stoves which were replaced by a hot air system in 1874.

Extensive improvements to the county buildings have taken place at several times. In 1865, at the insistence of the prison inspectors, a new jail wing was erected at a cost of over $10,000. As a result the jail was rated first in the province for its adaptability. In 1872, stone fences were erected to protect the court house grounds from hogs and cattle; trees were planted. Work on the grounds was done by prisoners, who were obliged to wear balls and chains when outside the gaol. The following year, plans for a new registry office were discussed and this led to a new registry office that was used for almost ninety years and is now the county museum.

Hastings County Registry Office. The section at left served as the registry office after 1872. The building now houses the county museum. (Sketch by M. L. Toms).

Typical of the Ontario registry offices built in the 1870's, this one cost less than $5,000; later additions were made in 1893 and the late 1940's. The present gaoler's stone house was erected in 1888. In 1901 telephones were placed in four county offices. In 1910 a northern wing was added to the court house, and this increased accommodation was adequate until the late 1950's when it was decided to erect the present county building. Erected at a cost of $770,000, this building is a worthy descendant of the noble court house which served so well from 1839 to 1961.

Over the years many loyal and devoted elected and appointed officials have served the county. These included such men as Billa Flint, George Benjamin and A. F. Wood, three of the most significant wardens of the mid-nineteenth century. Yet even these men had their difficulties while in office. Consider George Benjamin who served as warden of both the Victoria District and Hastings County. On January 28, 1861, he was elected as warden by acclamation. Almost immediately thereafter, a judical decision declared his earlier election as reeve of Hungerford null and void, apparently because of election irregularities. Deprived of his seat in council, Benjamin's hold on the warden's position was at once questioned by the councillors who proceeded to hold a new election, even before Benjamin had resigned as warden. A. F. Wood of Madoc Village and Nathaniel Appleby of Tyendinaga were nominated and a tie vote resulted. Neither of the candidates had voted and now Appleby himself was called upon to cast the deciding vote, since Tyendinaga had a larger population than Madoc. Appleby cast the vote for himself and thus became warden. Despite an attempt by Billa Flint to unseat the new warden and have Benjamin reinstated, Appleby remained warden in 1861, Benjamin officially resigned, and A. F. Wood waited until 1864 to serve as warden.

Relations with Belleville and Trenton very often have been quite good and the three councils co-operate on several current matters. Nevertheless

the separation of these two municipalities from the county was not achieved without lengthy negotiations. In 1858 the committee set up to discuss the separation of the town of Belleville from the county reached a deadlock over financial arrangements. An attempt at arbitration was thwarted when county councillors Wood and Appleby took the lead in opposing Belleville's petition to the provincial government. Finally, after two years of negotiations, county council agreed on June 27, 1860, to the separation. This separation meant the loss of county council's direct jurisdiction and responsibilities in Belleville's affairs. No longer would county council be required largely to finance local public improvements; no longer would the county receive a considerable share of its revenue from the citizens of Belleville.

In 1866 a similar problem developed after the incorporation of Trenton as a village. Because of the new municipality's indebtedness, a petition was almost sent to the provincial government requesting that the incorporation be annulled. Fortunately, wiser heads prevailed, the motion was lost, and Trenton remained incorporated. Relations between the county and village soon improved.

Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, transportation remained the chief concern of the county fathers. Toll roads were among the obstacles hindering transportation and council offered a reward of £100 in 1856 for apprehension of the persons destroying partially completed toll gates on several new toll roads. Then a vote by county ratepayers about 1857 instructed the council to purchase all privately-owned gravel toll roads in the county and to declare them to be free. On November 30, 1859, county council agreed to the request by a vote of nine to seven. About fifty miles of company toll roads were purchased for $77,800. Now Hastings County had a free system of roads, and in 1863 the toll houses were sold by auction. About the same time council sought the advice of a contractor from

CHECK GATE !

BELLEVILLE & FRANKFORD ROAD.

RATE OF TOLLS.

For every Vehicle loaded or otherwise, drawn by
   two horses or other beasts, - - - - - 1½d.

For each additional horse or other beast, - 1d.

For every Vehicle drawn by one horse or other beast, 1d.

For every Horse with or without rider, - - 1d.

For every head of Neat Cattle, - - - - ½d.

FOR EVERY SCORE OR LESS OF SHEEP OR SWINE - 1D

TOLLS TO BE PAID AT EACH TIME OF PASSING.

1856

Toll poster on the Belleville
and Frankford Road, 1856.

Scotland to give estimates for the construction of iron bridges. Apparently the distinguished visitor made a favourable impression on the councillors, since in 1858 county council agreed to finance a £1,500 iron bridge over the Moira at Bridge Street in Belleville. This apparently was the first iron bridge in the county.

Council was concerned about bridges elsewhere in the county. At Trenton the collapse of the drawbridge in 1863 necessitated further expenditures. The village spent $75.74 to rebuild it; however, it was still in an unsafe condition and county council three years later had to set aside $1,600 to install a swinging section on this bridge, which remained a covered bridge until the present century. Further north on the Trent River, at Frankford, provision was made for the lighting of the covered bridge in 1874. The same year council expressed its concern over fast driving and smoking on the covered bridges at Frankford and Stirling, and in 1878 a reward of two dollars was offered for information leading to the conviction of any person driving too fast on the county bridges. "Too fast" was defined by a later by-law as "faster than a walk". By 1889 iron bridges had been built at Stirling, Foxboro, Frankford and Shannonville; and one of steel was being erected over the Crowe River at Marmora in that year. The county road system in 1889 included 365 miles of gravel roads and 224 bridges; about $25,000 a year was spent on the system in 1889. To-day (1967) there are about 240 miles of roads and 85 bridges maintained by the county, a decrease since the 1890's because many roads and bridges of only local importance have been turned over to the townships. However, the calibre of roads has improved immensely and costs now average $1,000,000 a year.

To further improve transportation, county council took the lead in encouraging railroads. Repeatedly the county approved by-laws agreeing to take out large amounts of stocks in such railroads as the Grand Trunk and the Grand Junction. In 1852 the county prepared to take £50,000 of stock in the Grand Junction Railroad which was to link Belleville with Peterborough and Toronto. Later, council backed schemes to build railroads to Marmora to exploit the iron mines, and to Georgian Bay. In 1866 a petition to the Canadian government requested that 500,000 acres of crown lands be given to a railroad proposing to link Belleville with Georgian Bay. Over this line it was hoped that the products of the Lake Michigan-Lake Superior area would come and, perhaps eventually with the completion of a line to the Pacific, the products of China and Japan.

Similarly county council pressed for the building of the Murray and Trent canals, employing Samuel Keefer in the 1850's to report on the practicability and costs of such schemes. Keefer's findings, that on acount of sand bars the Bay of Quinte was not navigable for vessels drawing more than six feet of water, somewhat dampened local enthusiasm. Keefer's report on the development of the Trent system was more encouraging, and county council urged this project on the federal government.

Hastings County Council, 1901. "Photo by flash-light" showing warden J. W. Pearce of Marmora village (seated right) and council at Shire Hall.

As the century progressed, the county's role in education lessened. The provincial department of education exercised more control; however, the county still played a significant role. Its representations to the province were generally sound, although it did come out strongly in 1866 in opposition to compulsory education.

County Council has always been a very humane body. "Premiums" of £5 were granted to mothers for triplicate births in the 1850's. In 1871 to aid the sufferers of the Great Chicago Fire $500 was granted. The disastrous fire at St. John, New Brunswick, resulted in a $1000 grant in 1877, and members also sent their pay for the July council session. Following both the Fenian Raids of the late 1860's and the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, the local militia was entertained and given special allowances in addition to regular government pay. In 1884 the newly formed Historical Society of Belleville and Hastings County was given permission to use Shire Hall for its twice monthly meetings, and several churches (including St. Andrew's Presbyterian in 1872) have used this accommodation briefly.

Personal heroism has not gone unnoticed, since in 1896 council singled out Robert Tupper Armstrong for his heroic action in saving the life of a friend who had broken through the bridge across the Trent at Chisholm's Rapids. A suitable medal was presented to him.

In 1884-85 the council's resources were taxed by a smallpox epidemic. Striking especially hard at Hungerford and Elzevir townships, the epidemic resulted in several unusual expenditures, including one to the stage coach owner who was obliged to stop his stage line for a time, apparently to prevent the spread of the disease. As a result of these extraordinary expenses, the county refused the Belleville Women's Christian Association's request for $1,500 to aid in providing a Hospital and Home for the Friendless at Belleville. However, council did agree to contribute $500 a year, thus beginning the county's tie with the Belleville hospital. Nowhere is the cooperation between county and city more evident than in the present multi-million dollar hospital project and in the building of the new county building at a cost of almost $800,000. These projects point the way to closer ties between Belleville, Trenton and the county of Hastings.

The Prosperous Fifties

> *"It is a stirring and amusing scene to watch the French Canadian lumberers, with their long poles armed at the end with sharp spikes, leaping from log to log, and freeing a passage for the crowded timbers."*
>
> (Susanna Moodie describing lumbering on the Moira about 1850)

The 1850's was a period of continuing prosperity for Hastings County. Agriculture and lumbering flourished, the Grand Trunk Railroad and the free road system encouraged the spread of settlement, and the county's population almost doubled for the second consecutive decade. The addition of twelve new townships in 1858 focused attention on the north as did the provincial government's Hastings Colonization Road scheme to attract settlers.

Statistics indicate that this was one of the most important periods of county expansion.

	1839	1850	1860
Population	12,100	25,300	45,000
Cultivated lands (acres)	38,500	129,800	165,900
Houses	650	1,700	6,600
Grist Mills	11	19	24
Saw Mills	28	54	59
Merchant Shops	28	38	57
Horses	1,800	4,300	5,200
Oxen	1,300	3,700	5,600
Cows	3,700	9,000	12,500
Total Value of all Property	£141,200	£240,500	£1,400,000

This expansion and accompanying prosperity was not confined to the 1850's, but had begun about 1846, when severe economic distress in the British Isles led to increased immigration to this area. According to Susanna Moodie, these poor immigrants fitted in very well to local society and their rags were soon replaced by neat and respectable dress.

The newcomers found employment in several occupations. Many of the young women, especially those from Ireland, were employed as house-

hold servants. Mrs. Moodie professed to find the Catholic Irish domestics as "faithful trustworthy" as the Protestants, though the former did break and destroy more than the Protestants because of "the reckless carelessness of their character".

The men found employment in the fields, forests, mines, industries, and businesses of the county. The construction trades boomed as houses, schools and businesses were built. A number of new grist mills sprang up on the Moira when the export of wheat increased after 1849. New woollen mills were built at the same time, although there were never many of these. By 1856 there were almost 60 water mills on the Moira (about 35 being sawmills) and several other mills on the Trent and Salmon. Thereafter steam mills replaced water mills especially in the southern part of the county, making it possible for some industries to locate away from the principal waterways.

As industry tended to move from the rivers and settlement moved into more remote areas, there was a great need for improved roads. By 1850 the Belleville to Cannifton Road had been planked, and in 1851 the Sidney, Rawdon and Victoria Road Company completed the extension of that toll road from Cannifton to Stirling. Plank roads were not common, however, and this period witnessed the building of several gravel roads. The system of free roads established by 1860 by county council was a further boon to those persons employed in activities where cheap land transportation was vital.

BRIDGEWATER STORE !

WHOLESALE & RETAIL.

A General Assortment of

DRY GOODS!

GROCERIES,

CROCKERY, GLASSWARE

IRON, STEEL, NAILS,

SHELF AND HEAVY HARDWARE,

GLASS, PAINTS, OILS, SALT, GRINDSTONES,

POTASH KETTLES !

COOLERS, PLOWS, STOVES,

SOLE AND UPPER LEATHER,

BOOTS AND SHOES, &c., &c.

CASH PAID FOR

Potash, Wheat, Rye, Oats, Peas,

PORK, &c., &c., &c.,

BILLA FLINT.

Directory of the County of Hastings, 1860-61.
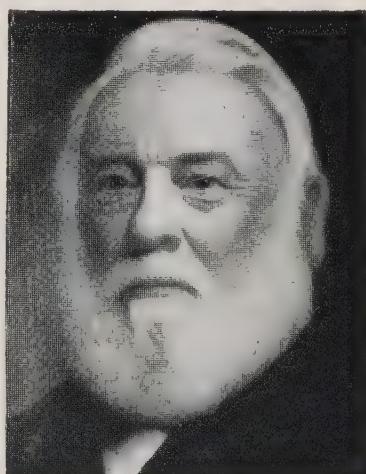
Billa Flint (1805-94), successful merchant; founder of Bridgewater (Actinolite); M.L.A., 1847-51 and 1854-57; Legislative Council member for Trent District, 1863; called to Canadian Senate, 1867. (Painting by W. Sawyer).

The 1850's witnessed a looking northward among county farmers and businessmen. Most of the best lands along the front had been taken up; perhaps the northern townships had good unsettled lands. The Canadian government encouraged this belief in the mid-fifties with the opening of the Hastings Colonization Road north from Madoc Township. Lumbering interests sought extensive timber stands to replace the rapidly dwindling supplies along the front townships. Accordingly Billa Flint established Bridgewater (Actinolite) in Elzevir Township and Flinton in neighbouring Lennox and Addington County as mill centres. In 1855 the police village of Hastings, later called Madoc, was created, and in 1858 the northern expansion was accelerated when the Canadian government added twelve townships to the county: namely, McClure, Herschel, Faraday, Wollaston, Wicklow, Monteagle, Dungannon, Limerick, Bangor, Carlow, Mayo, and Cashel. New settlement came slowly to parts of this territory, however, preferring certain parts of Hungerford, Tyendinaga and Rawdon townships. Nevertheless, lumbering and the Hastings Colonization Road scheme did attract settlers to the area north of Highway Number Seven.

Greater significance also was being attached to the mining resources of the central parts of the county. Specimens of ore and iron from the Marmora and Madoc mines were sent to England for display in the 1851 Industrial Exhibition in London's Crystal Palace. Hailed as the first great world's fair, this spectacular event focused attention on the mining prospects, since its judges apparently found the local iron to be of "superior quality". All that was needed was adequate transportation and blast furnaces at Belleville to turn the mines to a profit. To bring these riches to the Bay, there was talk of a Belleville to Marmora Railroad, a scheme that was encouraged in 1856 by the successful completion of the Grand Trunk Railroad between Montreal and Toronto.

Far more important than mining was agriculture. A rising demand for Canadian wheat and other products followed the Crimean War (1854-56) which had temporarily lessened Britain's agricultural production. This demand helped keep wheat the most important agricultural crop of the county. The Elgin Reciprocity Treaty negotiated with the United States in 1854 also provided a growing market. Wheat, potash, oxen, and other agricultural products poured south from Hastings County in ever increasing amounts, although the port of Belleville could not match Toronto's record of having doubled her exports from 1854 to 1856. That this reciprocity or free trade agreement benefited local producers can be seen in the facts that exports now exceeded imports by a substantial margin and that county council took "all legitimate means" to prevent American cancellation of the treaty in 1866.

The development of county agriculture in the 1850's was also helped by the County Agricultural Society and its branches. Although a fair had been held in 1821 at Belleville, the sponsoring Midland Agricultural Society had shortly thereafter declined and despite several attempts at resurrection,

SOUTH HASTINGS
AGRICULTURAL FAIR.
Thursday 6th Oct., 1859.
LIST OF JUDGES.

CLASS A.—*Cattle—consisting of Durhams, Devons, Herefords, and Ayrshires.* Messrs Jacob Jones, Solomon Vermilyea, and John Ross.

CLASS B.—*Grade Cattle.*—Messrs William Haight, Henry Vandewaters, and Owen Weese.

CLASS C.—*Horses.*—William Dafoe, Samuel Stevens, and John Canniff, of Stallions, Carriage, Draught, Saddle, and Single Carriage Horses. And Messrs George Taylor, Henry Vermilyea, and Thomas Canniff, of the remaining kinds of horses in this class.

CLASSES D. & G.—*Sheep—Leicesters, and Common Sheep.*—Messrs Edward Snell, Benjamin Ross, and Francis Clements.

CLASSES E. & F.—*Sheep—South Downs, and Saxons & Morinos.*—Messrs Nathaniel Lucas, Gursham Reed, and Robert Read.

CLASS H.—*Swine.*—Jacob Dunyes, Edward Britton, and Benjamin Gilbert.

CLASS I.—*Seeds.*—Phillip F. Canniff, Daniel Vanderwaters, and Peter R. Daily.

CLASS J.—*Farming Implements.*—Alexander McLaren, William Woods, and James Sagar.

CLASS K.—*Domestic Manufactures.*—Elias Vandewaters, John P. Morden, Charles L. Herchmer.

CLASS L.—*Leather.*—George Fanning, Paul Becket, and John Diamond.

CLASS M.—*Dairy Produce.*—James Canniff, Dr. Wm. Hope, and Smith Bartlett.

CLASS N.—*Roots.*—Zenas F. Lloyd, Elijah C. Ketcheson, and Daniel Canniff,

CLASS O.—*Fruit.*—Joseph Canniff, Elijah Ketcheson, and Samuel D. Farley.

DISCRETIONARY.— Alexander Thompson, Philip Roblin, and Stephen M. Washburn.

COMMITTEE.—Messrs Billa Flint, James J. Farley, Philip F. Canniff, Philip R. Palmer, and Alexander Thompson.

Published by order of the Directors,
S. D. FARLEY, *Secty.*
Belleville, September 3rd, 1859.   33w1,

Directory of the County of Hastings, 1860-61.

it was only about 1841 that a district agricultural society was revived successfully. By the early 1850's, this society and its branches were making a real contribution to local agriculture. Writing in 1852, William Hutton of Belleville noted that they enabled the farmers to obtain new seeds, new methods, and "labour-saving machines of the best description" from distant areas, created a beneficial rivalry and competition among the farmers, and assisted them to buy clover seed at a cheaper rate. Moreover, the farmer was encouraged by means of a type of early co-operative to devote more time to "the domestic manufactures of butter, cheese, woollen cloths, satinettes, blankets, counterpanes, shawls, socks, and even carpets — being assured that he will be remunerated for such extra attention, not merely by the money premiums given, but by the very notoriety which the association of numbers does not fail to secure".

Similarly the local agricultural societies enabled the farmers to improve the breed of horses and to cultivate finer fruits and vegetables. By subscribing to various agricultural journals, the societies helped the farmers to keep abreast of the latest developments.

Membership in the Sidney, Thurlow, Tyendinaga, Rawdon and Huntingdon branches of the agricultural society totalled 240 members by 1852, and there were also 215 members in the county society. Annual provincial grants to the county society for prizes at fairs, importation of seed, and other purposes totalled £250.

Agriculture was undergoing a significant change in the late 1840's and 1850's. Durham and Devon cattle were introduced into the county, the latter being most popular, and dairying became an important industry. In 1851 a full bred imported Ayrshire bull was purchased at a cost of £55 to further improve the livestock. This step was expected to lead to increased butter and cheese production, the Ayrshires having a reputation as good milkers. At the same time Leicester and Southdown sheep were being imported by the Hastings County Agricultural Society. Horses were another valuable asset, many selling to the Americans at prices ranging from £15 to £30 each. In fact, the rearing of good horses was "one of the most

THE PROSPEROUS FIFTIES

profitable of the farmer's pursuits" in the early 1850's. American drovers swarmed into the Bay of Quinte region, and there was some danger that the county would be "denuded of cattle".

BELLEVILLE MARKETS					
	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat, per 60 lbs	4	0	Potash, per cwt	27	6
Rye, per 59 lbs	2	0	Hay, per ton	40	0
Barley, per 48 lbs	2	0	Potatoes, per bushel,	3	0
Oats, per 24 lbs	1	3	Pork, per cwt	25	0
Peas, per 60 lbs	2	0	Beef, per cwt	20	0
Corn, per bushel	3	0	Mutton, per lb	0	3
Buck Wheat, per bushel	1	6	Eggs, per oz.	0	9
Flour, (Whole.) per bbl	25	0	Butter, per lb	0	10
Flour, per 100 lbs	12	6			

The Expositor, Belleville, December 11, 1857

Attempts to modernize agriculture by using a wheat drilling machine at planting time were rejected by district farmers, who abandoned these new machines after brief use and went back to the old broadcast method of sowing. Ploughs were more appreciated, and the improved Scotch (the mould for which was made by Peter Spence of this county) was a favourite along with the Prescott plough.

According to William Hutton, local agriculture was held back by some unprogressive farmers who failed to appreciate the value of manure, who neglected to cultivate the flax (and linen) industry, and who failed to see the great potential of the sugar beet industry.

Wheat growing was in serious difficulty. In 1850 the weevil arrived and worked its way across the county. This maggot attacked late sown wheat in low, damp locations. The wheat crop was also affected by the winter of 1851, there being several days when the temperature stood 16 degrees below zero and there was no snow to protect the wheat. Low wheat prices also had a dampening effect on wheat production. The average price in 1851 was 3 s. 4 d. per bushel, whereas minimum production costs totalled 3 s. 6 d. per bushel. Low yields of less than ten bushels an acre in 1851 complicated the picture. Similarly the crop of Indian Corn was below average in 1851, also because of the very cold spring. Fortunately improved weather conditions and the introduction of "Red Fife", a rust-resistant spring wheat developed in Peterborough County in the 1840's, aided local agriculture, and overall production increased. Agriculture remained the

basic means of support for a majority of county residents. Moreover the
agricultural implement, carriage factory, and textile industries were depen-
dent upon agriculture.

Yet lumber remained the most important manufacture of the county.
In 1851, almost 15,000,000 feet of sawed lumber was exported from the
county — all to the American market. This gave employment to many hun-
dreds of labourers and brought in over £29,000. In addition a large amount
of square timber was rafted to Quebec.

Exports from the county of Hastings to the United States in 1851
suggest the importance of the timber industry.

Articles	Quantity	£.	s.	d.
Butter		7	7	0
Oats	13,863 bushels	828	17	0
Flour	2,589 barrels	2,476	13	0
Rye	4,804 bushels	499	5	0
Peas	11,727 bushels	1,299	9	6
Salted Fish	7 barrels	8	15	0
Wool	12,723 lbs.	686	1	9
Potatoes	118 bushels	12	5	0
Barrel Hoops	44,500	25	0	0
Shingles	167,000	108	4	0
Spokes	11,480	22	18	3
Laths	679,000	245	2	6
Sawed Lumber	14,573,535 feet	29,101	7	2
Cedars	286 cords	103	10	0
Saw Logs	2,800	700	0	0
Cranberries	5 bushels	2	10	0
Potash	68 barrels	476	0	0

Lumbering was perhaps the most colourful industry as well as the
most financially rewarding. Susanna Moodie described the timber raft
on the Bay:

"It is a pretty sight. A large raft of timber extending perhaps for a
quarter of a mile, gliding down the bay in tow of a steamer, decorated with
red flags and green pine boughs, and managed by a set of bold active
fellows, whose jovial songs waken up the echoes of the lonely woods."

These lumberers were largely French Canadians "handsome in person
and lithe and active as wildcats" who moved from log to log and kept the
timber moving on the Moira. Their evenings were spent around flickering
watch-fires or singing and dancing in their favourite taverns.

Up to 175,000 saw logs a year were brought down the Moira in the
1850's to feed the giant saw mills at Belleville. The largest mill by 1860
was the steam saw mill owned by Flint and Yeomans just west of the

Moira's mouth. It employed about 90 men on a weekly payroll of $500. This mill was capable of producing from 75,000 to 100,000 feet of lumber every 24 hours, enough to load a schooner each day. A second steam saw mill, owned by D. D. Bogart on the island where Queen Victoria Park now stands, employed up to 60 men with a production of about 50,000 feet of lumber a day. Additional mills were located at Meyers' Dam, Cannifton, Trenton, Shannonville, and other centres.

Belleville's growth in the 1850's kept pace with that of the county. The population expanded from 4,000 to about 7,000 over the decade. In 1850 Belleville was incorporated as a town and the first election saw a council of twelve selected, three from each of four wards. Benjamin F. Davy was chosen mayor, while Dr. Rufus Holden became reeve. A prominent physician, Dr. Holden also operated an early drug store.

The first town council found itself faced with many problems. It was charged with responsibility for roads, sidewalks, sanitation, public charity, and fire protection, and many petitions were received dealing with these and other matters. As chairman of the Board of Trustees of the County Grammar School, J. Dunbar Moodie successfully sought a grant of £35 to complete the building and to enclose the grounds. Richard Sullivan asked for financial assistance for having contracted a "sickness resembling Consumption" as the result of his being in contact with very cold water while employed to dig a well on the hill near the jail. D. S. Vandervoort and eight other innkeepers complained that regulations imposed by the Town Council prevented "an Innkeeper on the Sabbath Day from administering to the requirement of their guests".

Council spent much of its time dealing with drainage and roads. Numerous complaints were received about public drainage, and John Turnbull and twenty-three other inhabitants asked that the Bridge Street drain be deepened and its width enlarged at least three times. Edmund Murney's petition called for a main sewer or drain on Front Street to "preserve the Health of the Town and the comfort and convenience of the

people". Plank sidewalks were sought by many town residents who complained that these sidewalks were "frequently promised" but failed to materialize. Moreover the stone pavement on the east side of Front Street was in a state of disrepair, and petitioners sought a plank sidewalk there. Petitioners competed with each other to describe the most unfavourable aspects of local roads. While the Trent Road was in "a most unfortunate state" or "almost impassible", the streets near the Methodist Episcopal Church were said to be lying under a "quantity of Stagnant Water", Coleman Street was said to be "wholly impossible for foot passengers", and residents in the Wharf Street area found it "impossible" in the spring and fall of the year to get to their homes.

Among its first acts, town council arranged for the building of a beacon on a shoal in the harbour to warn ships of the shoals and the narrowness of the channel. Also in 1850, a town hall and market was built on the Market Square. Fire protection was drastically improved, two excellent fire engines being obtained, whereas ten years earlier there had been one and it "was not in a state to work". Improved fire protection had been necessary because of the large number of wooden buildings, the negligence of some servants in disposing of ashes, and the thin pine shingles that served to spread a fire once it had begun. Regulations called for church bells to ring for fifteen minutes in the event of a fire, and every person from fifteen to sixty years of age was required to assist if call-
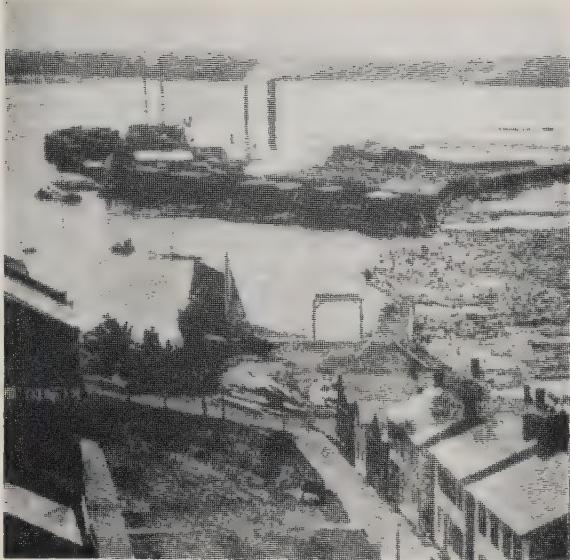
Lower Front Street, Belleville, showing the lumber mill on the island (site of Queen Victoria Park) at the mouth of the Moira. This view in the 1870's was taken from the city hall clock tower. In 1855 the Commercial House operated by Patrick O'Neil, offered "British and Foreign Fancy and Staple Dry Goods". Its policy was to "sell for cash only, to ask but one price, and to mark the selling price in PLAIN FIGURES UPON EVERY ARTICLE so that the simplest child can purchase on the same terms, and with as much security as any other customer, no matter what his judgement or experience.

Hastings County Grammar School at Belleville, circa 1860, on the site of the present Belleville Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, principal Alexander Burdon (centre) and assistant William Tilley (left).

ed upon. To prevent fires, lighted coals were not to be carried through the streets "unless in a covered vessel of iron", no bare lighted candles were allowed in stables, every building of two storeys or more had to have ladders, and the town chimney-viewer could order inhabitants to have dirty chimneys cleaned. In 1851 an Independent Fire Company of 40 men was established to look after the Victoria Engine No. 1, which was kept in a special building at the G. and J. Brown Foundry. In 1854 Council helped to establish the Belleville Gas Works, and gas lamps gradually replaced the oil lamps. The Gas Works under D. McKenzie also advertised coals, coke, fire bricks, fire-clay and wrought iron pipes for sale.

Most building was confined to the lands east of the river, much of the western land apparently being held by speculators who hoped to sell land for mill sites and industries at high price. This hindered the town's western growth, and new businesses such as the Ritchie Store were established on Front Street. Founded about 1856 by George Ritchie, this store for some years was the only bona fide importer of general dry goods between Kingston and Cobourg. Similarly almost all of the town's seventeen inns, taverns and saloons were located on the east bank of the river in 1857.
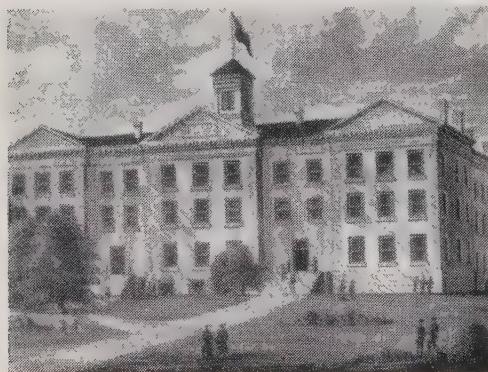
The 1850's witnessed a major expansion of educational facilities. In 1857 the Belleville Seminary (later renamed Albert College) was opened on College Street. The school was operated by the Episcopal Methodist Church and could accommodate 400 students in classes, a quarter of whom could also obtain room and board at the college. Candidates seeking admission were to be able to read and write and have some knowledge of grammar, arithmetic, and geography. Rev G. Shephard was moral governor of the co-educational school in 1860, Rev. A. Carman was principal, and four other instructors completed the staff. Also in the 1850's the new County Grammar School was opened, and the number of common schools was increased to five. In addition there were two Roman Catholic separate schools on John Street, one for boys under Michael O'Dempsey and one for girls under the Sisters of Loretto. City residents had a choice of three weekly newspapers by 1860 — *The Intelligencer, The Hastings Chronicle,* and *The Independent.*

Because of its central location, 6,000 inhabitants, expanding industry and commerce, and the growing importance of the county, the citizens of Belleville envisaged a future with Belleville as the capital of Canada. When it became clear that Queen Victoria was to be asked to name a permanent capital, in 1857 a petition was circulated and then forwarded to England, putting forth Belleville as the logical site. The petition did not follow the prescribed route for addresses to the Queen, however, and it appears that Belleville's application was therefore rejected. Had the application been forwarded through the approved channel, Belleville now might be Canada's capital as well as the county town for Hastings County.

Chapter 20

The Coming of Railroad

*"A better or more determined s p i r i t we never saw
displayed in any public undertaking whatever".*
(Kingston Chronicle and Gazette describing the "Great Railroad
Meeting" at Belleville, 1845)

October 27, 1856, was an historic day for nineteenth century Hast-
ings County. On that day a distinguished group of local dignitaries sup-
ported by hundreds of district onlookers, many of them wondering child-
ren, witnessed the arrival of the first railroad train at Belleville. The Iron
Horse, as it was to be known affectionately, ushered in a new era for
Hastings County — an era of rapid transportation. Montreal and Toronto
were now only hours away.

Although there had been talk of constructing a railroad from Co-
bourg to Peterborough as early as 1831, Canada's first operational rail-
road had been the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway. A portage line,
it linked the Montreal area with St. John's on the Richelieu River, a
distance of less than fifteen miles. Following its historic first trip on July
21, 1836, interest grew in railroading and the railroad dreamers began
to envisage a system of railroads to link the chief Canadian towns and
villages. In December, 1836, *The Intelligencer* came out strongly in favour
of a railroad from Belleville to Madoc and Marmora. The cost was esti-
mated at £28,000, but as the editor pointed out, the "extensive Iron Mines
in the rear part of the County of Hastings would become a mine of wealth
to Belleville." Unfortunately, the cost estimates steadily increased as ex-
perienced surveyors studied the proposed routes. R. L. Innes set the cost
of this 46 mile line at £225,000 in 1859. Such a sum was not available
and this, coupled with friction between groups campaigning for rival routes,
prevented the successful inauguration of the "Moira Valley Route" before
Confederation. Moreover, many businessmen along the Front of Hastings
County were more concerned with the east-west route than they were with
the northern one, feeling the latter to be a secondary or branch line to be
undertaken after the centres along the north shore of Lake Ontario had
been united by rail.

As early as 1845, meetings were held in connection with a proposed
Toronto to Kingston Railroad. A general committee meeting for this rail-
road was held on October 23, 1845 in the county court room at Belleville,
described by the Kingston press as "the most central Town on the intended
line". Delegates from Kingston came by boat, being met by a large number
of interested persons from Belleville and points west. John Counter of
Kingston was chosen chairman of the general committee of the Wolfe
Island, Kingston and Toronto Railroad Company and a sub-committee was

formed in each of the districts to keep up publicity, undertake surveys. and raise money.

Further encouragement was to be found in the reaction of Hastings County residents to a second meeting held at noon on the same day. At this "GREAT RAILROAD MEETING" chaired by Edmund Murney M.L.A., with George Benjamin as secretary, resolutions in support of the railroad were moved by Francis McAnnany, Dr. Hope, Dr. Lister, Henry Corby and several other prominent citizens, some of whom also spoke of a branch line to Marmora where convict labour might be used to work the mines and the iron might then be taken to Belleville to be manufactured. These re- solutions passed with "great enthusiasm", whereupon the members of the general committee adjourned to Harper's Hotel and "after a capital dinner. exerted themselves with spirit and success in making time fly until the arrival of the boat." Concluded the Kingston paper:

"Let every one think of the Railroad, speak of the Railroad, and all who can write of the Railroad. Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!"

Gradually the concept of a Kingston to Toronto Railroad expanded to encompass a Prescott to Toronto Railroad, which scheme Hastings County Council in 1851 stood prepared to support by subscribing £35,000 in stock. Out of these railroad schemes grew the idea of the Grand Trunk Railway. Chartered in 1852, and largely financed by British capital, this line was ready between Toronto and Montreal in time for the inaugural run on October 27, 1856. The advertisements proclaimed that the trains ran on Montreal time which was fourteen and one-half minutes fast- er than Belleville time, a problem solved only in 1884 when Sand- ford Fleming's idea of standard time zones was accepted at an international conference.

These early trains only distan- tly resembled the modern trains. The coaches were open platformed and hand-braked. A stove at each end of the coach provided warmth, and kerosene wall lamps provided some light. "The toilet facilities were primitive but considered ad- equate for the period." Neverthe- less, the first trains attracted much favourable attention and excursions to Toronto were organized from Osh- awa, Belleville and other centres. The maximum speed of 35 miles an hour was slow by modern standards, but rapid by comparison to stage coach travel of the 1850's where 75 miles a day was a good rate of speed.

Belleville has always had a close tie with the Grand Trunk Railway, now a part of the Canadian National Railway system. John Bell of Belleville was the first solicitor of the Grand Trunk Railway and played an important role in shaping the company's policies. During the years of construction, Belleville was a surveying and contracting centre, and in 1855 the town was named an official divisional point, a small switching yard

Grand Trunk Railway station at Belleville, erected 1856.
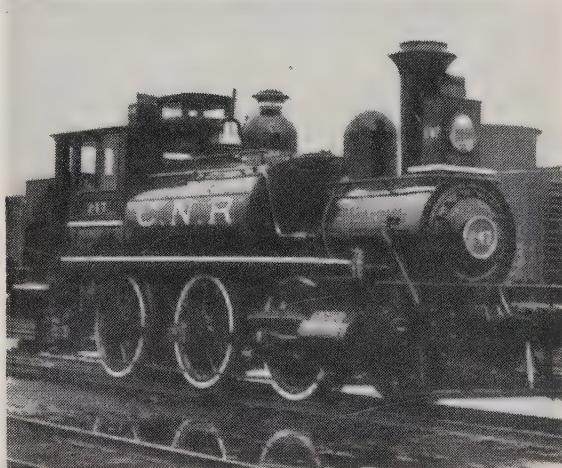
In the early 1900's this Grand Trunk Railway switching engine served the Quinte district.

being laid out. One of the Grand Trunk's first three locomotive shops was located at Belleville, under the management of Samuel Phipps. By 1864, about one hundred persons were employed at the shops and yards and the station was described as "one of the most profitable on the line". Moreover, because the early trains did not run on Sundays, the train leaving Toronto Saturday evening stopped at Belleville. The Grand Trunk operations at Belleville continued to expand, and this centre and Brockville remained the divisional points on the 335 miles of main line from Montreal to Toronto. Later, employment would pass the 1,000 mark and Belleville would become the headquarters of the Canadian National Railway Rideau District, though many railroaders still speak affectionately of the railroad as the Grand Trunk.

The Hastings Road

"The Hastings Road . . . is one long, long trail of abandoned farms, adversity, blasted hopes, broken hearts and exhausted ambition."

(C. F. Alysworth, 1925)

One of the most fascinating and tragic stories in the history of our county is that of the Hastings Road.

This road, which commenced at the northern end of Madoc Township and extended some seventy-five miles in a north-westerly direction, was an attempt to fill up the central part of the county with settlers. It was one of several colonization roads established by the Canadian government just over a century ago.

Up to about the year 1850, Madoc and Marmora townships were on the fringe of settlement. The country lying to the north was a veritable "terra incognita", and the government decided that this should not remain the case.

Accordingly, on January 22, 1851, instructions were issued to Publius V. Elmore, provincial land surveyor of Belleville, to survey an exploring line from the north-east corner of Lake Township towards the Ottawa River, with the purpose of laying out a road and settlement lots. Since part of the suggested route might pass over "rocky, broken or swampy ground or land otherwise unfit for settlement, or the formation of a good road". Elmore was instructed to explore the country on both sides of the line at such places in order to determine the proper site for the road.

For the purpose of exploring the surrounding countryside, he was to employ, in addition to the usual surveying party, two assistants who had a knowledge of the fitness of land for agricultural purposes and road making. These two were to explore the extent of the bad lands in both directions, so that Elmore could then project the best site for a road line from his starting point to the Madawaska River. He was also ordered to determine the best line for a road to connect the Hastings Road "to the settlement either in Madoc or Marmora". Furthur instructions to Elmore read in part:

"In addition to the usual information respecting the kind and quality of the soil and timber and adaption of the land for agricultural purposes. you will state in your field notes its fitness for road making, the nature of the bridge sites, and the length of the bridges required, with the slopes of the hills, and so forth to enable you to form an estimate of the probable cost of making on your road line the cheapest kind of a road practicable for wheeled carriages. You and your exploring assistants will avail yourself of

fit opportunities of viewing the country from tops of tall trees on top of elevated hill situations. . . Your pay will be 16 shillings, 6 pence per day. . ."

Moreover, the survey party was ordered to collect small rock specimens "attaching a number to each, and wrapping it up in birch bark, or such suitable materials as are to be had on the spot. . ."

Elmore proceeded to lay out the line for the Hastings Colonization Road in competent fashion. From the north end of Concession Five in Madoc Township, he surveyed a line that proceeded northwest to the eastern boundary of Lake Township and then north to the Madawaska River. The first five miles of this route he described as "straight and pretty level" with several cedar swamps and a high, broken hill, known today as the Hole-in-the-Wall. He noted the presence of two excellent mill sites in connection with the Crowe River and reported that there was "a large tract of land capable of settlement" in that vicinity.

Difficulties apparently plagued Elmore's northern progress. Swamps, hills, and the loss of his notes for the area around L'Amable Lake hampered the survey. Nevertheless the work of laying out the line for the proposed settlement road was completed.

The next step was actually to open the Hastings Road. The task of supervising this construction fell to Robert Bird, a member of a pioneer family of Sidney Township. In 1854, Bird was instructed to see that a winter road was opened on Elmore's suggested line.

A contract for 40 miles of summer road at a cost of £125 per mile, exclusive of bridges, was soon let. The whole cost of the 40-mile span including bridges was £5,000, and an inspector noted that "the whole of the job is well done".

The actual construction of the road was delegated by contract to George Neilson, a prominent Belleville contractor, who in turn sub-let his contract to Messrs. Cook and St. Charles, Madoc farmers.

One important task remained — the job of filling up the lots with bona fide settlers. Therefore on July 18, 1856, M. P. Hayes at Hastings (now Madoc) opened an agency for the Hastings Road Settlement. He had jurisdiction over a vast tract of land including the twelve townships added to Hastings County in 1858 as well as Tudor, Lake and Grimsthorpe townships. By 1863, some 500,000 acres in this area had been divided into farm lots of 100 acres each.

A settler could obtain one of these hundred-acre farms provided:

1. That the settler be eighteen years of age.
2. That he cultivate at least twelve acres of the land within four years, build a home (at least twenty by eighteen feet) and reside on the lot until the conditions of settlement were duly performed.
3. That he keep the road in repair.

The log house required by the government to be built was of a type that could be erected by five men in four days. The roof was generally

covered with bark, and the spaces between the logs were plastered with clay and whitewashed. Usually the neighbors helped in the erection without charge, thereby keeping building costs to a minimum.

The lands through which the Hastings Road ran were optimistically described a century ago as "capable, both as to soil and climate, of producing abundant crops of winter wheat, of excellent quality and full weight . . . and . . . crops of every other description of farm produce, grown in the best and largest cultivated districts of that portion of the province".

Furthermore, in 1858, Mr. Hayes reported in rosy terms of conditions along the road. He happily noted that 417 acres had been cleared and products valued at more than $40,000 had been produced. He described the first 23-mile section of road as being "thickly settled and presenting a gratifying contrast to its appearance 18 months ago, clearings and dwellings on almost every lot, some substantial houses, barns and stables, together with 142 dwellings, saw mill, and school house. The Road is open 68 miles north of Madoc Township, and only 231 lots remaining open for settlement." Hayes concluded with reference to the prosperous lumber business that was developing, and called attention to the remarkable healthfulness of the climate.

Despite the early glowing reports of the prospects of settlement along the Hastings Road, this colonization road did not attract a great number of new settlers. Between July, 1856, and April, 1858, the number of settlers along the 75-mile road was 299, and, with the exception of a few English and Scottish immigrants, these were all old residents of Ontario. Nor did the settlement increase greatly after 1858. In fact the opposite was true: population declined. This gradual decline in new settlement can be seen in a report compiled in 1863 by Mr. Hayes:

GENERAL PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT
On the Hastings Free Grant Road

Years	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863
Locations entered	156	115	144	78	56	88	32	22
Acres cleared	417	991	1547	2081	2681	3641	4553	5370
Buildings	60	134	187	252	336	407	512	580
Population	280	430	623	728	980	1010	970	1031
Horses	4	12	21	34	49	53	64	79
Horned Cattle	22	65	128	226	338	575	869	827
Hogs	40	72	90	120	194	448	517	613
Sheep	—	—	—	26	35	36	59	188
Value of Crops	no return	no return	$ c. 21868.75	$ c. 27659.32	$ c. 35349.30	$ c. 44418.15	$ c. 46982.00	$ c. 62725.70

By 1864 there were no new locations reported on the Hastings Road. Population declined even more rapidly after the acquisition by Canada of the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1869 provided a vast acreage of easily-worked fertile prairie land in western Canada. The inhospitable character of much of the land along the Hastings Road could not compete with the prairies of Western Canada and the United States. In addition, the original location and construction proved "very defective" and thirty miles of alterations had to be made in 1862-63.

The southern terminal of the Hastings Road, Madoc, circa 1870, showing the intersection of St. Lawrence and Durham streets, (looking north).

The poor condition of the road soon led to complaints. In June, 1868, fifty-seven settlers in Tudor, Wollaston, and Limerick townships petitioned Hastings county council:

"That the Hastings Road North from Millbridge is in a most wretched state of repair. Many of the Bridges broken down, and crossways floated off, culverts wanted, and Mudholes there are both numerous and deep, to impede, if not entirely stop public travel . . . That from Millbridge to the rear of Tudor there are two roads, the old, and the new. The old road is the mail route so far, but is so hilly and rough that it is not possible to travel it with heavy loads, nor is it suitable for light vehicles, and although many of the settlers along the road have left their places, there are a few left which require the road, some of the Bridges on that road is broken, though all the county aid obtained last year, and large sums from the Municipality were expended thereon.

"That the new Road is a decided improvement, and the most judicious outlay we have seen on the whole Road; the ground chosen being level and generally good, But there are some low wet places requireing Culverts, and other crossways to make it passable, and usefull to the public. This Road has been entirely neglected by the Municipality through which it passes, Since it was made, and there being but few settlers on the road to keep it up, whilst the great lumber traffic, and travil to the settlements in

the new or rather unorganized Townships to the rear of this County passing over it, cut it up very much.

"That it is a great injustice to the united Townships of Tudor Walleston and Limerick, and the county generally, to allow so many settled Townships as there are in North Hastings to lay so long unorganized, and untaxed for the repair of the roads which as yet has cost the settlers therein nothing, and without which they could not get out or in to their settlements, nor are the Inhabitants in the said united Townships able to keep up roads for those who allow the same to become impassable at their own doors, although it is their Mail Road.

"That too much dependance has been put in the Government keeping this road in repair heretofore . . . Large sums of money have been laid out by the Government on the line from time to time, but in such manner that the money was nearly lost to the public, it being a common thing to have a Gentleman overseer or agent, drawing four dollars per day, a clerk or sub at three, and several foremen at two or three dollars each per day, overseeing some eight or ten workmen whose wages seldom exceded one dollar per day. In this way consuming more than one half the funds appropriated to the road, in Idleness and carlessness; the rotten Bridges made of Basswood and other perishable Timber, and the often changed and abandoned pieces of Road to be seen along the rout, but too plainly show the carelessness or incomptence of the managers, and gross waste of the public funds."

The petitioners sought sufficient funds to "renew the broken Bridges, and improve the road from Millbridge to Northern boundry of Walleston and Limerick", the appointment of competent road commissioners, and the taxing of settlers in the unorganized northern townships so that they would contribute to keeping up their own roads and schools.

What did help the early settlers along the road and keep many of them there was the profitable potash business. In the 1850's they were advised that the ashes of three acres of heavily-timbered land would produce a barrel of potash, worth about six pounds sterling. Since the capital required to manufacture potash was very small, this was a profitable source of revenue for early settlers. This industry could not support a large population, however, and its decline toward the end of the nineteenth century further discouraged settlement.

By 1925 the road had deteriorated to the point where Ontario Land Surveyor C. F. Alysworth of Madoc could describe it in this fashion:

"After an examination of the patented lots along this road, I would estimate that there have been nearly 400 entries for Free Grant lots . . . and today it is doubtful if there are more than from fifty to seventy-five of them occupied from the Madoc-Tudor boundary to the Madawaska River. In driving along the Hastings Road . . . the mute evidence of it all is empty, dilapidated and abandoned houses and barns, orchards, wells, old broken down stone and wooden fences, root cellars, and many other

Colonization roads helped settlement in north Hastings. John Stringer's bush work in Carlow Township and threshing on Simon Bronson's farm in Mayo Township were typical scenes at the turn of the century.

similar evidences of having given up the ghost. . . . we came upon an apparently fine looking, gently rolling farm, almost surrounded by carefully built stone fences. On it were good cedar log buildings, a well, stone root cellars, a number of apple and other fruit trees, all representing the beaver-like toil of a life time, but abandoned.

"When first settled there were many hotels and stopping places along this road, perhaps at intervals of every five or six miles. In many cases now it is only the old timer who can point out where they stood, so completely has all evidence of their position been obliterated . . . Schools and perhaps churches abandoned, and, to the knowledge of the writer, three abandoned cheese factory foundations may be seen along the road."

Thus did the Hastings Road, the project designed to promote a thriving agricultural settlement in the northern part of the county, become "one long, long trail of abandoned farms, adversity, blasted hopes, broken hearts and exhausted ambition".

More Colonization Roads

> *"The lands thus opened up are capable, both as to soil
> and climate, of producing abundant crops of winter
> wheat, of excellent quality and full weight and crops of
> every other description . . ."*
>
> — *Advertisement for Colonization Roads, 1860*

The Hastings Colonization Road was only one of a series of roads designed to open the lands between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River in the 1850's. Others included the Ottawa, Opeongo, Addington, Monck, and Mississippi Roads.

The idea of the colonization roads was to hold British and European immigrants in Canada and to prevent them from moving south of the border. Free lands would be granted to those willing to settle along these roads.

As early as June 1, 1847, a senior Public Works Department official, Thomas Keefer, had written:

"One or two roads connecting the Lumbering Districts on the Ottawa with the back settlements of the Districts on Lake Ontario, would be of great benefit to all parties; it would facilitate and cheapen the supplies to the Lumbermen, and stimulate the farmer to raise larger crops, for which he would find a ready home, and cash market, and employment for himself and teams in transportation, during the Winter . . . As an instance of the importance of these roads, some enterprising Lumbermen on the Upper Madawaska have penetrated at their own expense, the Townships in the rear of Victoria District (i. e. Hastings County), by winter roads, by means of which, they are enabled to obtain supplies, delivered at their shanties, at Bytown prices."

Influenced by this and similar statements, the Legislative Assembly passed the Public Lands Act in 1853 providing for free grants of land to bona fide settlers and for funds to build colonization roads in unsettled portions of the province. The first three roads planned in 1853 were the Hastings, the Opeongo, and the Addington. Together with later colonization roads they were to form the basis for settling a large part of the province.

The Addington Road was constructed by Mr. A. B. Perry and was nearly completed by April, 1856. Linking that road with the village of Troy (Actinolite) in Elzevir Township was the 16 mile Elzevir and Kaladar Road, constructed in the early 1860's by Robert Bird at a cost of $5,216. The Peterson and Opeongo Junction roads helped to link Ottawa and the Lake Simcoe area, while the Mississippi and Monck roads linked Hastings and Lennox and Addington counties with Lake Simcoe.

COUNTY OF HASTINGS

COLONIZATION ROADS
1882
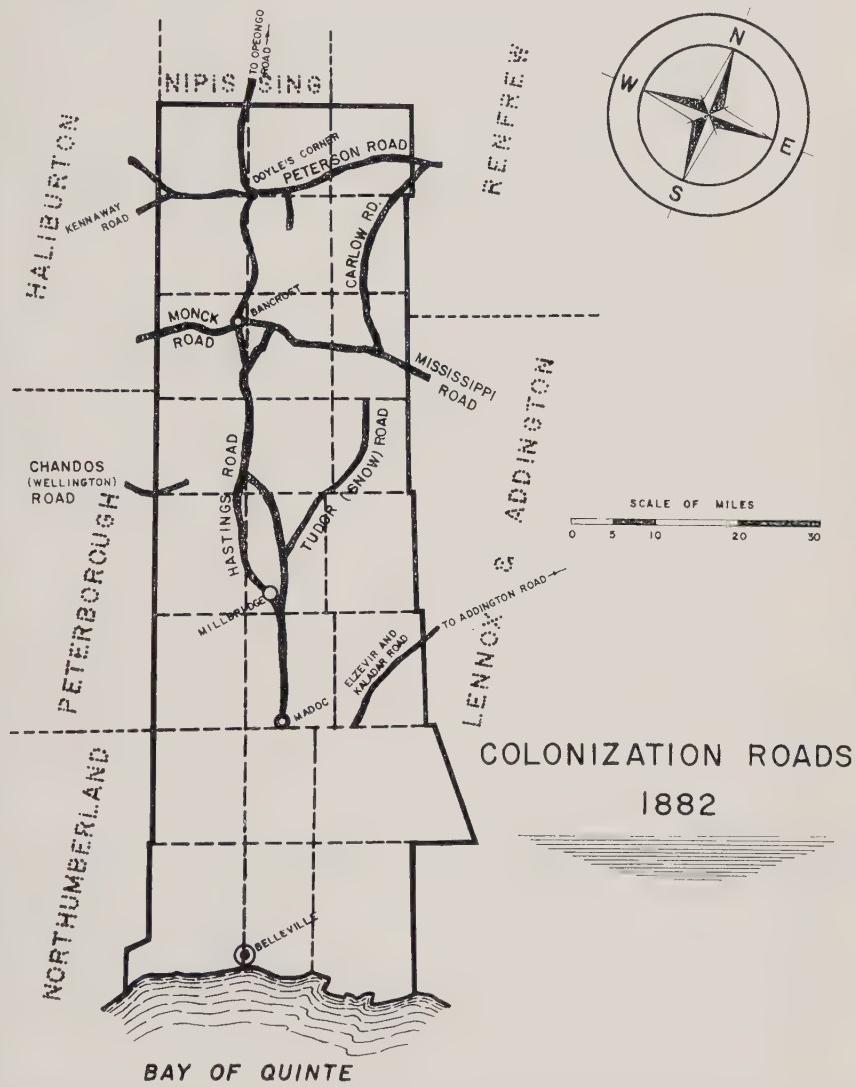
Expenditures on these colonization roads were authorized by the provincial government. By 1867, over $25,000 had been allocated to the Monck Road, a similar amount had been spent on the Hastings Road, and lesser amounts had been spent on other local roads.

As in the case of the Hastings Road, the accounts of the agents for the first few years were optimistic. Their reports spoke of incoming settlers (largely Irish immigrants) and good crops. However, the optimism was soon tempered with reality. The summer of 1862 was particularly unfavourable, and Ebenezer Perry, Agent for the Addington Road, wrote of the near failure of the wheat and potato crops because of extreme drought and frost in June, August and September. The agent of the Hastings Road reported that further government aid was necessary to build cross roads between the main colonization roads. Otherwise the "new and unaided settler" could not penetrate the "rough tracts of hilly and broken land" to reach the tracts of good land. Not surprisingly the number of new locations reported on the colonization roads continued to decline in the mid-1860's.

Yet this did not prevent the commencement in 1866 of the Monck Road, named after Governor-General Monck. This road was undertaken largely for settlement purposes, but also as a military route between the Ottawa Valley and the Upper Great Lakes at a time when there was a threat of American invasion. Such a road would be less vulnerable than the St. Lawrence route which could be interrupted by American attackers. Reference to its potential military role is to be found in a letter from the colonization roads superintendent in July, 1866, noting:

"Under the present somewhat war-like aspect of our country, I beg again to revive the consideration of constructing the colonization road line called the Monck Road, the works upon which are already commenced at the western terminus as a military highway." Military troops and supplies could easily be moved between Lake Huron and Ottawa via this route. Block houses and arsenal depots might be located at thirty or forty mile intervals.

Construction of the Monck Road was begun in 1866 under the direction of John Snow, and by 1873 it was completed at a total cost of $48,000, meeting the Hastings and Mississippi Roads at York River (now Bancroft). By this time relations with the United States were much improved, and this military link was no longer needed. Nevertheless, one historian has described the Monck Road as "one-fifth military and four-fifths colonization". The road, like most other colonization roads, quickly fell into disrepair since there were too few settlers to maintain it adequately.

The assumption that only better access was needed to make the Canadian Shield a good agricultural area had proved false. The settlers were slow to come, and many who had come in the early 1860's left without developing their grants. Nevertheless the roads did help to open up the northern section of Hastings County and to provide the basis for many of the present chief transportation routes.

Chapter 23

A Prince is Welcomed

"All painful feelings occasioned by the proceedings in
your town . . . are now entirely removed."
(Prince of Wales to Belleville's Mayor, 1860)

Royal visits have always attracted much interest in Hastings County with its large proportion of people of British descent. Many local residents have pleasant memories of the visits to this district of Queen Elizabeth (then Princess Elizabeth) and the Duke of Edinburgh in 1951, and of George VI and Queen Elizabeth in 1939.

Unfortunately, not all such visits have been as successful as those of Elizabeth II and George VI. Certainly the most unsuccessful was that attempted in 1860 by the Prince of Wales (later to become Edward VII). The eldest son of Queen Victoria and heir apparent to the throne, the nineteen year-old Prince came to North America to officiate at the opening of Montreal's Victoria Bridge (the connecting link in railway connections between the Atlantic Ocean and the extreme western limits of Canada): to lay the corner-stone for the new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa; and to visit the principal cities of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, and the eastern United States.

When it was learned that the Prince would visit Belleville, the citizenry made lavish preparations. On June 28, 1860, Hastings County Council set up a committee of five to draft an address of loyalty and $500 was set aside to assist in the reception. Belleville Town Council made similar plans. although its preparations were marred by a conflict between the mayor. Dr. William Hope, and the majority of councillors. The mayor disagreed with council's decision not to present an address drawn up at a citizens' meeting, and accordingly he refused to sign the council's own congratulatory address to the Prince of Wales. On August 16, council expressed its lack of confidence in the mayor with respect to this matter; and on the eve of the Prince's landing, the reeve was appointed to sign the engraved address, since the mayor still said that it was "not his intention at present to sign".

Final preparations for the Prince's welcome were completed by September 5. "Great care had been bestowed on the ornamentation of the town, and on the intended reception", a contemporary chronicler reported, adding that "the arrangements perfected were extremely good". Large posters were placed throughout the district proclaiming the sixth as a public holiday. Farmers were advised that the market would be closed and that "Disappointment and loss will ensue from bringing any produce to the Town . . . except full loads of Canada's best produce, her MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN."

Nine great arches had been erected, two of them by the Loyal Orange Lodges; however, no Orange emblems or flags were displayed on these in accordance with the wishes of the British Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, who was travelling with the Prince. He had declared that the Prince must not associate himself with any partisan "banners or other badges of distinction which are known to be offensive to any portion of Her Majesty's subjects", since a display of such emblems might "lead to religious feud and breach of the peace". Specifically, Newcastle did not want to offend the Roman Catholics of Canada. Nor did he want to encourage the Orange Order, which had been banned for a time in England and almost outlawed in Canada in the early nineteenth century. In the event that such emblems were displayed, the Prince would be advised to abandon his visit to the town altogether. Indeed, such a display having taken place at Kingston on the fourth, the Prince had not landed there at all.

Accordingly, when he arrived at Belleville aboard the steamer "Kingston" at nine o'clock on the evening of the fifth, no Orange emblems or flags were to be seen. The approach of the steamer was announced by the firing of three guns on the Court House Hill, the bells of the churches rang out gaily to welcome the Prince of Wales, and "the greatest joy was manifested by the inhabitants" of the town. Local Orangemen apparently were prepared to accept the Duke of Newcastle's decision that no Orange arches should be erected. A reporter noted:

"The difficulties with the Belleville Orangemen, it is thought, may be easily settled if the interference of outsiders does not prevent it. The question is what to do with the Orangemen who come here."

Unfortunately "outsiders" did arrive at 12:30 a.m. on September 6 when the steamer "Bay of Quinte" docked and Orange demonstrators from Kingston streamed ashore. Their coming influenced the local Orangemen who now resolved to carry through with plans to participate in the celebrations and show their great loyalty to the crown. Early on the morning of the sixth, "flags of a partisan nature" were hung from their arches, and the Orangemen mustered "in full numbers, in full regalia, with their bands of music, paraded the street, determined to receive the Prince".

When this became known to Newcastle, the Prince did not land at all, but remained aboard the steamer and proceeded to Cobourg.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS information has been received
that his Royal Highness, the

PRINCE OF WALES

will pass through the Town of Belleville, on
Thursday the 6th instant.; and Whereas the
Town Council have requested me to issue a
Proclamation, calling upon the Inhabitants of
the Town to observe that day as a Holiday,
NOW KNOW YE, THAT I

WILLIAM HOPE,

Mayor of the Town of Belleville, do hereby
proclaim the said

SIXTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,

A PUBLIC HOLIDAY,

And I hereby request the Inhabitants of the
Town to observe said day as such.
I have also to request that all parties will
cheerfully comply with such

POLICE AND OTHER REGULATIONS

as may be made for the preservation of public
order.
WM. HOPE,
Mayor.

Belleville, September 1st, 1860.
GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

Thousands of disappointed persons remained at Belleville, including the 1500 town and county school children, dressed alike in black and white, who were to have sung the national anthem. According to one account, "It was perfectly touching to witness the sorrowful countenances of the people . . . all people of the town of Belleville; all their exertions, all their toil, destroyed."

Mayor William Hope, who had been rowed out to the Prince's boat in an unsuccessful attempt to have the landing proceed as scheduled, addressed the disgruntled gathering after his return to shore:

"I am sure this is a matter of regret to nineteen-twentieths of the population . . . I only hope that you who came from a distance and are in town will spend a pleasant day. I am sure the authorities will do everything to make it agreeable."

The crowd then gave three cheers for the Queen, three for the Prince, and a final three for Mayor Hope.

Three groans for the Duke of Newcastle were added an hour later at a meeting of two hundred Orangemen in front of the Dafoe House. The county master, Thomas Wills, publicly affirmed the Orangemen's loyalty and called for cheers for the Queen, the Kingston Orangemen, and Garibaldi (an Italian patriot then trying to unify his country). The Orangemen then paraded streets with bands playing and banners flying. Later two hundred "Physiogs" on horseback paraded to the Grand Trunk Railway station, and fireworks were set off in the evening.

Town officials and leading citizens now conferred to see what could be done about this humiliation. Their decision was to meet the Prince at Toronto to express their apologies and loyalty to him. Accordingly William Hope, his council, and three hundred citizens of Belleville waited upon the Prince when he reached Toronto two days later, and asked that he return again to the town, thereby "restoring to us the right to feel that we are in the opinion of the world, but more especially in the sight of your Royal Mother, and your Royal Highness, lovers of peace and order, and loyal British subjects". Mackenzie Bowell, Charles Levisconte, and Thomas Wills promised that the Orangemen would abstain from anything likely to

Announcements of L o y a l Orange Lodge meetings following the Prince's visit in 1860. Hastings County has been a centre for the Orange Lodge since the first lodge was formed in 1830 at Lonsdale in Tyendinaga Township, the warrant being issued to Francis English. By 1835, lodges were also meeting in Tweed, Roslin, Shannonville, Stirling, Thomasburg, Trenton and Latta. By 1860, there were 38 lodges in the county.

be objected to by the Prince's advisers. The Prince of Wales replied that "all painful feelings occasioned by the proceedings" were removed entirely by this profession of loyalty; however, his "engagements to other places" would not permit a return so far eastward".

Even as these words were spoken, the royal party was involved in a new problem with the Orangemen. Despite assurances by the mayor of Toronto that no partisan emblems would be displayed along the processional route, a transparency of William III (William of Orange) had appeared on one of the arches. The outraged Duke of Newcastle told the mayor that he was not welcome at the festive Royal Ball to be held that evening.

The deputation to Toronto did not include any official representation of Hastings County Council, although members of that council had been assembled in Belleville to hold their regular September session and welcome the Prince. County council felt that if any apology was necessary it should come from the Prince's advisers to council, since the warden had been slighted by the royal party. Less than six hours after the Prince's ship had sailed from Belleville on the sixth, Billa Flint moved a resolution of regret at the "want of courtesy" shown by these advisers. Flint pointed out that though the ship had been anchored eleven hours in harbour, neither the Duke of Newcastle nor any official had attempted to contact the county warden to see where and when the county's declaration of loyalty would be made to the Prince. Warden Benjamin felt that he had

been slighted. Whereas an official from the Prince's party had contacted Mayor Hope and invited him to come to the ship at 7.30 a.m. to "smooth the way for the landing of the Prince", no such attempt had been made to contact Benjamin. And as a result, when Mayor Hope wrote privately asking Benjamin to accompany him to the early morning meeting, the warden refused, noting: "The same effort which discovered your residence would enable his Grace to discover mine if he desired to see me." Moreover, if the Duke of Newcastle really wanted to see Benjamin, was it Benjamin as an Orangeman "to remove an evil impression which he (the Duke) has excited", or Benjamin as warden? Benjamin was not certain and until the Duke sent an invitation, neither Benjamin would go.
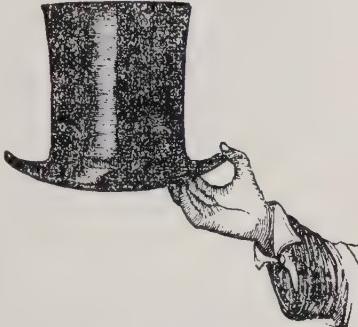
Hastings County Council's resolution concerning the "want of courtesy" shown by the Prince's advisers was a strong protest, perhaps too strong. Yet the following day when Alexander McLaren and A. L. Bogart attempted to have it toned down, the original motion was reaffirmed by a sixteen to two vote. Accordingly it was forwarded to the royal party at Toronto and ordered published in the local press.

So ended the 1860 Royal Visit to Belleville, an abortive attempt which saw the Prince spend a night in the Belleville harbour, but denied him the pleasure of landing to be welcomed by the Crown's loyal subjects.

Chapter 24

To Arms Again

An account of an attempt by Irish-Americans to
"liberate" Canada from British rule.

The years following the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada were fairly quiet ones for the militia of Hastings County.

Only in the 1860's was the relative calm upset and the security of the country again threatened. This threat came from the direction of the United States. During the American Civil War, Britain had seemed to favour the South against the North, and there was the possibility that the northern states might therefore try to "liberate" Canada from British control.

To guard against this possibility, the Canadian government reorganized and expanded its military forces. Associations "for the purpose of learning their drill" were set up throughout Canada. One of these drill associations was created at Belleville as an outgrowth of the First Hastings (Belleville) Rifles. The organizational work for this new force was largely completed by Christmas Day in the year 1862, and on that day four hundred men of the proposed regiment paraded on the Court House grounds under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Ponton. A week later, Colonel Ponton wrote to Head Quarters at Ottawa:

"Whilst feeling honored by the confidence reposed in me in appointing me to the command of the battalion, I can not but observe here that I shall not hope to be held personally responsible for all the arms and accouterments, there being no armoury of any kind in the town, and I am a little at a loss to know what we are to do without a drill hall, the only one here being occupied and used at present by the 'Rifles' and equipped as their armoury also."

On January 16, 1863, the new regiment was officially named the Fifteenth Battalion of the Argyll Light Infantry.

Five months later, the Fifteenth held its first inspection at Picton. A newspaper account described the day in this fashion:

"Early in the morning, even before Aurora had streaked the east, volunteers with their scarlet uniforms were promenading the streets of Belleville waiting for the hour of embarkment on the steamer 'Bay of Quinte', generously placed at their disposal by Mr. Gildersleeve. . . The line was then formed and marched in fours to the boat, preceded by the Belleville band which was engaged for the occasion. Arriving at the boat they found the volunteer companies from Rednersville and Consecon commanded by Colonel Metge — some 140 men — awaiting them.

"The boat was soon under way, but it was found difficult to navigate with the number that had rushed upon the upper deck to enjoy the fresh-

ness of the morning air. Upon reaching Mill Point (Deseronto) two companies of about 80 men from Napanee under Captains Detlor and Miller were waiting to join their comrades in arms from the west. These filled the boat to repletion and some of the more timid passengers became dubious of their safety."

Fortunately their fears proved groundless and the men arrived safely at Picton. There they performed their drill, trooped the colours, and engaged in a sham battle. This battle was carried out with field pieces and rifles being fired and ended with a final charge "to the great terror of the country ladies on the ground". Although rain fell throughout the three hour review and all were drenched to the skin, the onlookers declared it a great sucess and novelty.

Ensign Mackenzie Bowell of the First Belleville Rifle Company, 1864. (Prime Minister of Canada from 1894 to 1896).

The Fifteenth Battalion and its parent company — the First Hastings Rifles — were soon to have a chance to prove their loyalty. Both were called out to defend the country in 1865 when the Fenians attacked Canada. The Fenians were Irish-Americans who hoped to strike a blow for the freedom of Ireland, then under British rule, by invading Canada and "liberating" it from Britain. In 1865 they began to gather along the Canadian border and to make plans for the invasion. It was boasted that close to fifteen million dollars had been raised to equip the invasion army, which was to number close to thirty thousand men. This striking force was to be employed at three points, with attacks being made across the Niagara peninsula, at Kingston, and at Cobourg. Some five thousand men were expected to cross from Rochester to Cobourg. Once these forces had secured the Grand Trunk Railway, the Fenians planned to build navies on Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario; and then move their army against Montreal and Quebec.

By November, 1865, the Canadian Government had awakened to the seriousness of the threat, and several volunteer militia companies were called out for Frontier Service at Prescott, Niagara, Sarnia, Windsor and Sandwich.

The Regiment assigned to guard the Windsor-Sandwich border was made up of the Brockville Rifle Company and the First Belleville Rifle Company (organized in 1836), the latter being under the command of Captain Charles G. Levisconte, Lieutenant James Brown, and Ensign Mackenzie Bowell. The Belleville and Brockville Rifle Companies spent their time at Amherstburg near Windsor in constant drill, and by "maintenance of strict discipline and close attention to the duties required of them, they became very efficient". Then, after five months of service on the American frontier, the regiment was relieved on May 4, 1866, and the men returned to Belleville and Brockville.

Four weeks later, "General" O'Neil led "a horde of Fenians" into Canada, crossing the Niagara frontier and capturing Fort Erie. On June 2, this Fenian force of about sixteen hundred men beat off an attack by a body of Canadian volunteers, but the approach of a force of regulars discouraged the invaders and they retired to American soil. The threat of a second attack led the Canadian government to issue a general call to arms.

A Belleville newspaper described the day preceding the call to arms as one of "the intensely exciting days that this city has known". In the evening, vast crowds paraded the streets, singing patriotic songs, and cheering for Queen Victoria, the Empire, and Canada. Finally, at 2 a.m. on June 3, the call to arms came and eight hours later members of the Fifteenth were on their way to Prescott, while members of the First Hastings Rifles were on their way to Cornwall. Their orders were to be ready before nightfall to beat off the Fenian raiders. Among the local soldiers stationed at Prescott

Insignia of the local units helping to protect Canada during the Fenian Raids.

was Fred Murchall, a spectacular drummer, tall and athletic. It was said that he would twirl the drum stick in the air in such a way that the resulting sound caused consternation among the Fenians, who were across the St. Lawrence on the American side.

On June 8, the expected Fenian raid came, but further east than the local forces were stationed. Approximately two thousand Fenians under "General" Spear crossed into Quebec, but were soon driven back across the border by the Hochelaga Voltigeurs.

Reeve of Fort Erie shot

Several Wounded!

Fenians Marching on Port Colborne.

The Intelligencer Extra announcing the Fenian attack on Canada. On June 6, Belleville's council described the Fenians as "a lawless band of marauders and robbers."

For another five years the Fenians, merely by existing, created a state of uneasiness along the frontier from Maine to Minnesota, until the movement collapsed in 1871. That such a movement should have been allowed to drill openly in the United States reflected unfavourably on the American government.

Of the nearly four hundred men who had taken their places in the Fifteenth Battalion or the First Hastings Rifles to save their homeland, approximately half applied for and received Fenian medals in the 1890's.

An interesting sidelight on the raids is found in a letter from Lieutenant Colonel W. N. Ponton, commanding officer of the Fifteenth in the 1890's, recommending a participant in the Fenian defence for a medal. The applicant was William Clarke, who served in what was known as the Grand Trunk Railway Brigade, "which consisted of rifles and artillery". Ponton described the role of the applicant and the Grand Trunk Railway Brigade in this way:

"Applicant was color-sergeant of one of the companies which had their headquarters at Belleville. They were under arms for a considerable time and although afterwards disbanded, were fully uniformed by the Government, and received their annual pay for several years. Applicant was in charge of an engine, which was kept constantly ready and steamed up and

down the track with himself and comrades detailed for that duty during the time when attacks were anticipated. This order was given after a mixed train had been fired into by some miscreants and the car penetrated by several bullets."

While on duty, Clarke and his associates arrested "several suspicious characters as Fenian spies, who were afterwards released".

The two Belleville rifle companies of the Grand Trunk Railway Brigade, organized in 1866-67 because of the Fenian threat, were part of an unusual unit — the first such force to combine rail and militia duties. The brigade was formed so that the railroad might not lose its workers in a military draft and thus have to limit its operations at a time when good rail service would be vital to the country's security. The brigade's headquarters were at Montreal and companies were placed at key points along the main line, including Brockville, Kingston, Belleville, and Port Hope. At Belleville two companies of eighty men under Captains Crowther and Nunn guarded bridges, shops, and roundhouse. When the threat of Fenian invasion passed in 1871, the brigade languished, although the local companies were completely outfitted with new uniforms in 1872. In June, 1874, the brigade's government funds were cut off, and seven years later it was formally disbanded.

The Fenian threat was the last occasion when local troops were called out to protect their country from official, or unofficial, American aggression. The militia had responded in 1812-14 to foil the American attack. in 1837-39 to check the Hunters' Lodges, and in the 1860's to resist the Irish-American Fenians. Henceforth our relations with the United States, though not always ideal, would be more peaceful.

Veterans of the Fenian Raids, 1866. Sergeants William Bottoms, William Johnson, William Scholes and Jeremiah Thompson of the Fifteenth Battalion, Argyll Light Infantry.

Chapter **25**

Birth of a Nation

"A great opportunity was lost in 1867 when the Domin-
ion was formed out of the several provinces. This
remarkable event in the history of the British Empire
passed almost without Notice."

<div align="right">

(Sir John A. Macdonald, 1889)

</div>

Canadian Confederation was almost a miracle. It overcame differences of government, language, religion, culture, and geography to begin the process of unifying the British colonies on the North American Continent.

Confederation had many causes. The fear of American attack as the aftermath of the Civil War and the Fenian Raids commencing in 1866 encouraged the union of the colonies for defense purposes. The cancellation by the United States government in 1866 of the 1854 free trade agreement — despite a strong protest by Hastings County Council — led the colonies to seek a national market to encourage trade. Railroad interests such as the Grand Trunk sought the annexation of the Hudson's Bay Territory so that a railroad might be constructed to the Pacific. *The Intelligencer* and other newspapers also pressed for this annexation which would obtain fertile land to house the settlers along the Madoc Colonization Road who were moving from their homesteads to better lands in the American West. As early as 1857 *The Intelligencer* had announced that this "Great North-West" would be valuable for its agricultural, mineral, and trade potential. A larger union might lead to Britain turning over these territories to Canada.

Political deadlock was another reason for Confederation. This deadlock was between French and English, Conservatives and Reformers in a united Province of Canada that included only the southern parts of Ontario and Quebec. Locally the deadlock could be seen in the fierce political election campaigns, the disputed election returns, and the hostility between the Conservative *Intelligencer* and the opposition journal, *The Chron-*

Hon. Lewis Wallbridge (1816-87), a native of Belleville and speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Canada during the important debates leading up to Confederation. From 1882 to 1887 he was chief justice of Manitoba

icle. It was also evident in the attitude of the Orange Lodges, who came out strongly against the domination of the provincial government by French Roman Catholics. The Orangemen and many other loyal citizens sought a larger union where British Protestants would be in control. Such a union involving the Maritimes and the West would provide for a central government to handle national matters, while provincial or local matters — including education, religion, and roads — would be left to the provinces.

Child Canada Takes Her First Steps. This cartoon in the Canadian Illustrated News, July 23, 1870, suggested a problem faced by the new dominion.

MOTHER BRITANNIA — "Take care, my child!"
UNCLE SAM — "Oh! Never mind, if she falls I'll catch her!"

The chief celebration of Confederation in Hastings was held at Belleville. *The Intelligencer* account of the proceedings began with the lament that "The birthday of our new Dominion was not celebrated in Belleville with the spirit which should have been shown on the occasion." However, *The Chronicle* pointed out that the celebration was in keeping with the somewhat depressed economic conditions. Council had shown consideration for the needy by paying the city's labourers "on Dominion Day as if they were at work on that day", and by providing $40 so that a small gift could be given to all citizens on relief to enable them to observe the holiday "in common with the rest of the inhabitants". The sum of $250 was set aside "for the purpose of celebrating the 1st July, the commencement of a new era in our nationality". This money was to provide the inhabitants of the town and district with "the largest amount of amusement and entertainment on that day".

The Confederation festivities got under way when the cannon on the Court House Hill "announced the opening of the day". At 9 a.m., the Moira Company Band played for an hour and a half on the court house steps, and the parade formed up at the Pinnacle Street armouries; from there it marched to the court house. The Mayor, Henry Corby, read the proclamation proclaiming the creation of the Dominion of Canada from the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. A military volley followed and the band of the Fifteenth Battalion played "God Save the Queen". In the afternoon, various games and amusements

were held, and *The Intelligencer* reporter noted that "The remainder of the day passed off very quietly, there being no display of fireworks in the evening."

Among other local municipalities arranging appropriate ceremonies was the township of Elzevir, which set aside ten dollars for the celebration. Hastings County Council did not hold any special celebration to mark Confederation; in fact there is no reference in council's minutes to the impending union.

Later celebrations of Dominion Day took on all the appearances of a gay outing. Community programmes were well organized and varied in the days before the automobile made it possible to spend a holiday far away from home. In 1896, for example, the Fifteenth Battalion of the Argyll Light Infantry sponsored a celebration for citizens of the Belleville area. The program on Wednesday, July 1, 1896, opened at the Agricultural Park with a morning baseball game between the Kingston "Granites" and the "Bellevilles". This was followed by a horseshoe match, and a hammer-throwing contest.

In the afternoon, visiting and city battalions, together with a mounted squad of Royal Canadian Dragoons from Toronto, paraded through the city to the Agricultural Park on the West Hill, where the rest of the day's program was held. The afternoon highlighted a march past and general salute by all troops, a tug-of-war open to eight-man teams from the battalions, and bicycle races. (Bicycling was one of the most popular activities in the 1890's. So popular was it in fact, that a commanding officer of a battalion in a neighbouring municipality maintained that he could not get together a sufficient number of men to drill in June because of the "wheeling craze".) Other events in the afternoon were foot races with a first prize of three dollars and an ambulance race and rescue contest which offered a silver cup to the winning four-man team. The familiar egg and spoon races, favorites even today at parties, were also held for both mounted and dismounted men. The feature of the program was the exhibition put on by the sixteen-man detachment of the Royal Canadian Dragoons under Major F. L. Lessard. They put on a jumping display, lance excercises, and their famous Musical Ride (the predecessor of the RCMP's Musical Ride).

Throughout the afternoon, the various bands in attendance performed, and in the evening there was a grand concert by the united bands of the Fifteenth (Belleville) and Fifty-eighth (Peterborough) Battalions. A military parade was also held in the evening and a mock battle was staged, much to the delight of children and adults alike. The climax to the whole day's program came with a "Grand Display of Fireworks".

Confederation has meant more to the citizens of Hastings County than picnics, foot-races, tugs-of-war, and fireworks. The original union — increased from four to ten provinces — has given us a nation of which we can be proud, a nation in whose future we can place our confidence.

Chapter 26

The County at Confederation

"In agriculture, in education, in trade and commerce, we have made steady advancement, and with the natural advantages possessed by us, our agricultural, lumbering and mineral resources, the future presents a promising aspect."

(County of Hastings Directory, 1860-61)

The coming of Confederation found the citizens of Hastings County in a generally optimistic mood. Despite a slight recession that led *The Hastings Chronicle* to commend the Belleville town council for its money-saving celebration of Confederation, all sections of the county's economy enjoyed a gradual boom.

Agriculture participated in the boom, as thanks to the American market, local barley growers expanded their acreages. Also dairy farming became more profitable with the expansion of the cheese industry and by 1867 a number of cheese factories were marketing a finished product well able to take honours at the provincial fairs.

Lumbering continued as a chief money-making industry, although the companies now had to cut their timber as far as 75 miles inland. At Trenton the recently renovated Gilmour and Page Saw Mills produced 30,000,000 board feet of lumber a year, mostly for American consumers. At Belleville, mills owned by Flint and Yeomans, H. B. Rathbun, and William Bleecker were described as "some of the largest west of Ottawa". Further east, at Shannonville, Francis Wallbridge operated a mill with 70 saws to produce almost 5,000,000 board feet yearly. At Mill Point, soon to be renamed Deseronto, H. B. Rathbun and Son's mills employed 250 saws and several hundred men to manufacture 13,000,000 board feet each year besides 2,000,000 lath and 750,000 shingles.

Timber for these mills was brought down the Trent, Moira, and Salmon Rivers. These rivers also provided power to drive the gradually increasing industries of Hastings County. One writer noted that there was enough waterpower to supply ten times as many factories as were then located on the Moira, a suggestion of this river's importance in the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately the lumberers dumped their waste products into the rivers, and pollution was a problem. In 1866 Belleville Town Council notified all lumberers and tanners on the Moira that the dumping of rubbish into the river would result in prosecution, and a reward of ten dollars was offered to informants. Flooding on the Moira also posed a problem, and in January, 1867, a committee was set up to determine the effects of the flood waters on the lower part of town.

Belleville remained the chief county manufacturing centre in 1867. The products of its established industries continued to win prizes at provincial exhibitions and at least one, the "celebrated family sewing machine" patented by Charles Irwin and Company made the manufacturer's name a "household word" in Canada. In addition to winning first prizes at the Kingston, Hamilton, London, Toronto, and Montreal exhibitions from 1863 to 1866, this machine was acclaimed by "well-selected and competent" judges at the 1867 Kingston Exhibition as being superior for all kinds of work over every other American and Canadian machine, including the model produced by I. M. Singer & Co., "who, too, pretend to make an Improved Family Sewing Machine". As a result Mr. Irwin enlarged his Belleville operations in 1867. Among other industries to expand at the time of Confederation were Walker's Foundry and Brown's Foundry which were preparing to furnish quartz mill machinery for the Madoc mining area, John Lever's cheese box factory which supplied the growing local trade, and Louis Roenigk's furniture factory which advertised that its wares were almost as good as any in the province.

Manufacturing was holding its own elsewhere in the southern part of the county. At Stirling a woollen mill was being converted into a first class flouring mill by D. McDougall to replace one destroyed by fire in February, 1866. Cannifton boasted of a new cheese factory, one of the first in the county. Frankford made scarcely any progress in the early 1860's, but a paper mill was being erected by Sills and Brothers by 1867. Further north, a fine new grist mill was under construction by Messrs. Pearce and Son at Marmora, and Madoc was experiencing rapid industrial development because of a nearby gold rush in 1866-67. At Bridgewater (Actinolite) in Elzevir Township an industrial boom was in progress and some of that area's finest buildings date from the Confederation era.

The year 1867 witnessed improved transportation. The H. B. Rathbun Company greatly increased its extensive ship-building facilities at Des-

Belleville, circa 1860, showing the east hill, court house (centre), St. Thomas Anglican Church (right), and the lower bridge (middle right).

Among the splendid churches built a century ago was the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the village of Bridgewater (now Actinolite). Erected of white marble quarried nearby, the church was dedicated on March 4, 1866. Rev. Thomas Cullen was the first resident minister. Following a fire on May 24, 1889, only the walls were left standing; however, the building was restored.

eronto and advertised that it could build or repair all kinds of steamboats and vessels. At Belleville the Grand Trunk Railway showed its confidence in the future of the country by building a new locomotive shop, raising to twenty-four the number of engines that could be accommodated. Local business interests were pressing for a Belleville to Marmora Railway, at an estimated cost of almost $1,000,000. Until such a line was built, the northern townships relied on the stage lines for their trade and commerce. Fortunately a fairly good stage network existed, and in 1867 it was proudly reported that "a trifling sum" would take a person to "any of the townships". Unfortunately this report was somewhat premature as far as the most northern townships were concerned. Because of the problem of transportation, there was only limited settlement in Limerick and Wollaston. Faraday also was handicapped, although there was a beginning settlement at York River, now Bancroft. Carlow Township had been surveyed in 1866 by C. F. Alysworth and only twenty clearings totalling about 270 acres indicated that settlement had begun in 1867. Monteagle, Herschel, Wicklow, McLure and Bangor Townships were described as "probably the best large block of good land remaining in the hands of the Crown in Canada West". They would remain as Crown Lands forever, according to an early county directory, unless good roads were provided.

The Year of Confederation saw advancements in other areas as well. In May, *The Intelligencer* commenced publication of a daily edition, the the first daily newspaper in the county. The Belleville Lacrosse Club was organized to encourage an interest in Canada's national game. The newly organized Belleville Board of Trade (1865), later to be renamed the Chamber of Commerce, began to press for more industrial development in the county. Hastings County councillors, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the district council in 1842, agreed to revise their salaries to a modest two dollars a day. And all eyes turned north to Eldorado, where a gold discovery was threatening to create in the Madoc area another California Gold Rush.

The Golden North

"Hastings' fame went abroad as the new Eldorado,
and Belleville became a golden gate."
(Belden's Atlas, 1878)

Gold has often played an important role in the affairs of man. The search for it led to Columbus' attempts to find a westward route to the Indies. The possession of it in her South American colonies made Spain a dominant European power for a century. The discovery of gold along the Fraser River in the 1850's resulted in the creation of British Columbia as a British colony. Its unearthing near Madoc in 1866 touched off a gold rush in Hastings County "only equalled by the tremendous excitement which was caused when news came from California that gold had been found in that far-off region."

The discovery of gold near Madoc came at a time when there was considerable prospecting along the southern edge of the Canadian Shield. For some time Madoc Township had been known for its mineral wealth. Its iron ore "had been pronounced by the highest authority not inferior to any in the world," although the mines were not being worked to any extent in the early 1860's. There were also "some very rich lead mines," and deposits of marble, lithographic stone, and soap stone. The gold discovery was made on Lot 18 of the fifth concession of Madoc township on the farm of John Richardson, on August 15, 1866. Credit for the discovery is usually given to Marcus ('Mark') Herbert Powell, a clerk of the division court and a part-time prospector who lived at Malone in Marmora Township. When, along with an old miner named Snider, Powell was prospecting for copper in the summer of 1866, gold was detected in the ore by Fred Murchall. He is reported to have told the pair that their copper was gold,

Madoc at the time of the gold rush showing the store of A. B. Ross, wholesale and retail merchant.

The Richardson Gold Mine at Eldorado, circa 1900.

whereupon they got mad and "handed him some mining phrases that are fit to be repeated only to miners". This started the excitement, according to former Madoc lawyer D. E. K. Stewart.

A second explanation of the discovery has been handed down by Madoc groceryman Robert Gray. He said that Lyman Moon of Madoc got two shovels full of decomposed sulphurites from where Powell and Snider were mining, that he and Gray carried it to Madoc in a pillow slip, and that from it they washed one hundred and ninety-three dollars worth of gold. Another story is that Messrs. Gray and Moon took some of this vein matter to Madoc jeweller D. Rawe who pronounced it gold after a blow-pipe test.

In any case, the prospectors had stumbled upon a considerable quantity of free gold in two pockets about fifteen feet below the surface. This free gold was remarkably pure, between 22 and 23 carats fine, according to one assay. Unfortunately, most of it was removed from the site within a short time by the mine's developers or by other parties who gained access to the mine illegally, so that a complete study of the site by Canadian government geologists could not be made.

Although word of the gold was kept quiet for a time, it was soon common knowledge. *The Intelligencer* of November 9, 1866, noted that the discovery was "causing great excitement to extend beyond the boundaries of central Canada." Geologists, professors, practical miners, and capitalists from Canada and the United States were said to have visited the new gold region. Some expected that the Eldorado area would be "a new California".

Among the problems facing the developers of the mine was the question of the ownership of the Richardson property where the gold strike had been made. According to C. F. Aylsworth, this headache developed when Lyman Moon, one of the first persons to learn of the gold, went to the old Dafoe House in Belleville with samples of the ore. There he met a number of the town's leading citizens and discussed the formation

of a company to purchase and develop the Richardson property. However, J. F. Carr, a Bostonian who was then drilling for oil near Belleville, sat nearby and overheard the talk. When the gathering broke up, Carr struck up an acquaintance with Moon and set out to get the property before the Belleville Company of Citizens could. Carr succeeded in getting a 60-day option on $19\frac{1}{2}$ acres of the Richardson property for $20,000. A special rider was also sent to Malone in Marmora Township to persuade one of the discoverers, Mark Powell, to sell his share, but without success.

Then Carr took ore samples to Boston, but failed to organize a company to supply the money to meet the option. Following this failure, Chicago interests paid $20,000 to Richardson and $15,000 to Powell for mining rights. Carr started court action to forestall the Chicago interests, and the Belleville Company of Citizens also entered the court contest.

Many stories have come down about the early history of the Richardson Mine. For example, one of the parties contesting the ownership is said to have put a building over the mine and a man named Joe E—, armed with a gun, on guard. The story goes that Joe E— did a "nice little blind pig business in this rendezvous", selling gold specimens to interested visitors.

Within a short time of the Richardson Mine discovery, other gold strikes followed in Madoc and neighbouring townships and caused great excitement in the Belleville area, leading *The Intelligencer* to comment on November 19:

"It is said from a variety of sources that specimens of gold have been found in other parts of the Madoc district — in a creek not far from the mine in question, and in quartz — four and five miles distance from the Richardson lot. During the week a considerable quantity of land in Madoc has been leased for mining purposes. Though agents are now fiercely engaged in securing mining rights, it is not likely much will be done this fall in prospecting."

Meanwhile, rumours spread about the fortunes to be made at Eldorado. A piece of gold nearly an inch square was said to have been found under a large boulder. People flocked in to the area. The county towns were "full of miners, speculators, black-legs, and ne'er-do-wells". To maintain law and order at the Richardson shaft, twenty-five mounted police were sent in. This force accomplished its aim with some difficulty. In the spring of 1867, "Cariboo" Cameron arrived at the Richardson Mine with several friends. There was a liberal show of revolvers, and they gained entrance to the shaft. When word of this reached Madoc, Captain Fox and his squad of mounted police and several vigilantes rode to Eldorado over very muddy roads. There they found "Cariboo" in a hotel smoking a cigar. When he explained that his entry had been to satisfy himself that the mine was not a hoax, Fox and his party straggled back to Madoc.

The sudden inrush of people overtaxed accommodation at Madoc, and soon several hotels were opened there and at Eldorado to cater to the

would-be-millionaires. The road from Belleville to Madoc was the route for most of these arrivals, and *The Madoc Mercury* announced on February 23, 1867, that "extra lines" of regular stages from Belleville had been put on. The "extraordinary amount of travel . . . owing to the Gold Excitment" led county council in 1867 to carry out special repairs on this route. There was talk of dividing Hastings County and setting up a new northern district with Madoc as the county town.

Belleville became the "golden gate" to this new Eldorado, as the site of the Richardson Mine came to be known. Town merchants charged inflated prices for commodities, local foundries tooled up to produce mining equipment, and J. T. Bell enjoyed a profitable business as an assayer, earning a reputation as "the very mirror of honesty" and the "terror of the swindlers". Not all assayers enjoyed as favourable a reputation, and some would publish bogus assays for a price.

There was a great demand for knowledge about the mines and mining in general. T. C. Wallbridge of Belleville spoke on the mines at public meetings, Hastings County Council in 1869 established a chair of mining at Albert College with J. T. Bell as professor, and public land surveyor Henry White printed a map to show the locations of the Madoc gold mines. This interesting map, which covered the area from Stirling to Tudor township, showed the various gold discoveries that had been made between August, 1866, (when the Richardson Mine was located) and December of that same year.

Owing to the short period of time taken to prepare this map, much of its information was based on hearsay. For example, several locations bore the notation "said to be gold". White had not had time to check and

This force of "mounted police" preserved law and order in Madoc and Marmora townships after 1866

Few persons did more to encourage the development of the mines of Hastings County than T. C. Wallbridge. As well as lecturing on the geology of the area, he wrote on the subject.

see if gold actually did exist at these locations. The demand for such a map was too great for accurate research. Areas identified as positive sources of gold included Madoc Township, Lot 3 in concession IX and Lot 18 in concession V. Moreover, the map attempted to describe the type of rock structure of "that important gold-bearing section of country" so as to be of value to prospectors searching for other minerals.

Those who had begun digging operations in 1866 renewed their efforts the following spring on "a much more extensive scale" after the settlement of the first court case involving the ownership of the Richardson property. A "company of ambitious proclivities" was formed, a handsome stone structure was erected, the newest and most expensive machinery was obtained, and the investors "calmly awaited the results". Unfortunately, probably less than $100,000 of gold was recovered from the Eldorado region, while several times as much was sunk in useless expenditures.

Various reasons for the failure of Richardson mine have been advanced. For one thing, the rock was of an arsenical variety that baffled the mining company's efforts to extract the gold. Moreover, the pocketing nature of the ore, the inexperience of the operator, and the lack of capital to test the material thoroughly also led to the company's failure. In the winter of 1868, the return was only about fifteen dollars to the ton, and the mine was closed.

Reorganization of the company followed, but without marked success. A circular sent to all stockholders in 1868 by the secretary of the Richardson Gold Mining Company, Anson G. Northrup, suggested the state of affairs:

Williams Gold Mine, Marmora Township. The quartz-crushing mill on the Moira River is shown in this 1873 woodcut.

"The Company is now indebted to various persons to the amount of nearly $18,000. There is no money in the treasury. The crushing mill is out of repair, and the works at a stand-still . . . Most of the creditors have sued the Company, and prompt action is necessary to save it."

Stockholders were asked to surrender one-sixth of their stock to the company. This stock would then be sold, and the proceeds used to carry on the work. Despite this plea, the company went into bankruptcy.

Notwithstanding that failure, however, many people continued to believe there were other pockets and gold-carrying veins in the vicinity. A number of small gold mines were subsequently established in southeastern Ontario, among them the Deloro, Gilmour, Cordova, Williams' Golden Fleece, and Hawkeye mines. These mines met the same fate as the Gatling Mine, which was established in the spring of 1867 on the Moira River

Ledyards Gold Mine, Madoc, circa 1900.

about four miles east of Marmora Village by C. J. Gatling, the brother of the inventor of the celebrated Gatling Gun. Despite a fairly good gold content, the ore was found to be "mispickel" (arsenopyrite) and unmanageable. In the mid 1870's experimental work still was going on in concession IX of Marmora, and the Williams Mine and the Gatling property were said to have turned out some ore of "good value". The Fiegel Mine on concession XI of Marmora had yielded "a not inconsiderable amount of the precious metal" under Mr. McCrae's management, but it too had been plagued by court suits. *Belden's Atlas* noted that there were several veins of "fine free gold" in Elzevir Township and that Billa Flint had erected a crusher at Bridgewater. In Hungerford and Tudor more gold was discovered, but again the reward apparently did not justify the expenses involved in extraction, and mining enthusiasts lamented the lack of capital to exploit the mines.

Consolidated Gatling Mine, circa 1900.

From time to time new ventures have been launched. Different processes, deeper shafts, — these and other methods have been tested, but with little success. The excitement was renewed again in 1880-85 and in 1890-93 on a smaller scale. In 1917, one of the old Belleville Citizens Company, accompanied by two eminent Cobalt mining engineers, retested one of the pits on the Richardson property. Through most of the last ninety years, however, the Richardson mine shaft has remained neglected. Only recently has the site been marked by a plaque erected by the Ontario government. This plaque stands near the shaft entrance, a reminder of Ontario's first gold mine and the day when excitement and dreams of fabulous wealth went hand in hand.

Railroad Fever

> *"Add a railway to the mineral regions of the north;*
> *give us a canal to connect Lake Ontario with the Bay of*
> *Quinte, and we may expect to become the most import-*
> *ant County in the Dominion."*
>
> *(County of Hastings Directory, 1868-69)*

Hastings County has experienced "railroad fever" on at least three occasions — first in the 1850's with the Grand Trunk Railway, second, after 1866 with the Grand Junction and Belleville and North Hastings railroads, and finally in the early 1900's with the Canadian Northern.

The first case of "railroad fever" started in the late 1840's and centered about the Grand Trunk Railway, the great east-west line built to link Western Ontario and the American mid-west with the Atlantic seaboard. Associated with this railway in the minds of many county businessmen were several branch lines expected to encourage the economic growth of the county and the railroad prominence of Belleville. Among these schemes was the Grand Junction Railway which was intended to run from Belleville via Peterborough to Toronto and serve as a loop line of the Grand Trunk. In 1852 the Grand Junction was incorporated and some surveys were undertaken, but despite promises of financial assistance from both Belleville and Hastings councils (the county was prepared to subscribe £50,000 of stock), little was accomplished. The municipalities lacked the financial resources necessary to commence construction on their own without substantial private investment, and the Grand Trunk Railway Company did not regard the loop as vital.
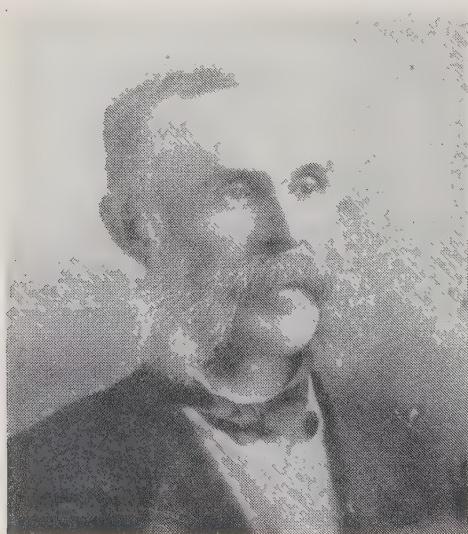
A. F. Wood of Madoc, one of the leading advocates of a northern railway and warden of Hastings County for ten years in the Confederation period.

Similarly a second project launched in the 1850's came to grief in its infancy. The Marmora and Belleville Railway Company was incorporated in 1858 to draw the riches of the Marmora mines to Belleville. Again County Council took the lead in supporting the railroad. But also again, there was inadequate public support for the scheme, and for the next decade disputes over rival routes, financing, and the value of the railroad kept it from becoming more than a topic of occasional conversation and a dotted line on contemporary county maps.

Belleville and Marmora RAILROAD.

NOTICE is hereby given that Application will be made at the next sitting of the Provincial Parliament, for an Act to Incorporate a Company to build a RAILWAY from BELLEVILLE to MARMORA, by way of the Villages of Tweed, Bridgewater and Madoc, or otherwise; and for a Grant of Public Lands to aid in the construction thereof

BILLA FLINT.

Belleville, 18th September, 1865.   3i

Central Ontario Railway

Time Table.

Leav Trenton for Picton	7:32 a m	1:05 p m
Arrive at Picton	8:44 a m	2:50 p m
Leave Picton for Trenton	9-05 a m	3:45 p m
Arrive at Trenton	10.18 a m	5:12 p m
Leave Trenton for Coe Hill	9:35 a m	2:30 p m
Leave Anson (Mid Ry Junction]	10.28 a m	3:23 p m
Arrive C P R Junction		4:00 p m
Leave C P R Junction	11:00 a m	4:35 p m
Arrive at Coe Hill	1 30 p m	8 p m
Leave Coe Hill for Trenton	5 30 a m	2 20 p m
Arrive C P R Junction	8 a m	4 25 p m
Leave C P R Junction	8 10 a m	4 30 p m.
Leave Anson, Mid. Ry Junction	8 45 a m	4 57 p m
Arrive Trenton	9 35 a m	5 42 p m

ROBT. FRASER, *Supt.*

GRAND JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Two train services daily (Sunday excepted) between Peterboro' and Belleville.

Commencing on Monday, 20th Dec., 1880, and until further notice, trains will leave Ashburnham and Belleville City at 7:30 a.m. and 3 p.m., and will be due at Belleville City and Ashburnham at 11:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. respectively, stopping en route at all regular Stations, and at Flag Stations when duly signalled.

MADOC BRANCH.

Trains will leave Madoc for Belleville City at 8 a.m., arriving at 10 a.m. Returning will leave Belleville City for Madoc at 3:30 p.m., arriving at 5:30 p.m.

NOTE—Trains will be run by Belleville time, which is 14 minutes slower than Montreal time.

T. S. DETLOR,
Gen'l Sup't.

Belleville, Dec. 18th, 1880.

The North Hastings Review, Sept. 25, 1890.

"Railroad fever" affected the county for a second time in the years immediately after Confederation. The Madoc Gold Rush of 1866-67, a revived interest in the mines and other resources of the interior, and some other factors led local groups to plan for one or more northern railroad lines — all with their southern terminal at Belleville, or perhaps Trenton. Accordingly in 1870 the charter of the Grand Junction Railway was revived, apparently by a Belleville group who enlisted about $500,000 worth of provincial and municipal aid. The promoters also offered $900,-000 of stock to the public, only $13,000 of which was ever sold. The first sod was turned in 1873, but construction was delayed by legal disputes and the bankruptcy of the Brockville contractor. Nevertheless, on June 28, 1877, the Toronto *Globe* reported that the first car-load of freight had passed over the road from Stirling to Belleville. Two years later the line was completed west to Peterborough, a total distance of about 90 miles.

The southern terminal of the Grand Junction was at the Belleville waterfront where there was a small switching yard. The passenger station was located on Pinnacle Street near the market square, in a building originally erected as the Pinnacle Street Methodist Church. The Grand Junction's rolling stock included several "diamond stack" wood burning locomotives which pulled the freight car loads of lumber and other produce from the interior down to Belleville.

By 1880 the Grand Junction Railway controlled another line of local origin, the Belleville and North Hastings Railway. This was a narrow gauge (3' 6") railroad which ran north from Madoc Junction on the Grand Junction Railway to Madoc, Eldorado, and the nearby Seymour and Moore Iron Works, a distance of 22 miles. The Belleville and North Hastings Railway Company was incorporated in 1874 to construct a line

Grand Trunk Railway train in front of the market building, Pinnacle Street, Belleville, 1880's.

north to the Madawaska River. A. F. Wood of Madoc became its first president although control soon passed to an American syndicate which operated the iron mines. Like so many contemporary lines, this railroad was made possible through the assistance of municipal governments, substantial bonuses being supplied by Hastings County, Belleville, and Madoc Township, while a federal subsidy was also granted. This assistance totalling more than $120,000 paid for the cost of construction, and common stock did not represent any cash investment. Construction of the railroad was carried out in an enthusiastic though irregular fashion, as many as 3,000 men being employed in the spring of 1877, whereas a reversal that summer temporarily stopped all building. Unfortunately the narrow gauge tracks meant that the company's rolling stock could not leave the 22 mile line and this, coupled with inadequate traffic, led to its control passing into the hands of the Grand Junction Railway about 1880.

COUNTY OF HASTINGS

RAILWAYS IN 1887

PROPOSED EXTENSION OF
CENTRAL ONTARIO RAILWAY

BANCROFT

PROPOSED OTTAWA, IRONDALE
AND ORILLIA RAILWAY

COE HILL

BAKER   EMILY

ST. CHARLES

MALONE   ELDORADO

MARMORA STATION   MADOC   BRIDGEWATER

TO PETERBOROUGH   TO SMITH
                                                FALLS

SPRINGBROOK   TWEED

TO PETERBOROUGH

STIRLING

GLEN ROSS

FRANKFORD   FOXBORO

TRENTON

TO TORONTO   BELLEVILLE   TO MONTREAL

BAY OF QUINTE

SCALE OF MILES
0   5   10   20   30

LEGEND

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

CENTRAL ONTARIO RAILWAY

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

PROPOSED RAILWAY LINES

MIDLAND RAILWAY
(INCORPORATING THE GRAND JUNCTION RAILWAY IN 1881)

The Grand Junction in turn soon found itself engaged in a fierce competitive struggle with the Midland Railway, described by historian A. W. Currie as a "rather sprawling conglomeration of lines north of Lake Ontario" with lines running north from Toronto, Whitby, Port Hope and Cobourg. The poorly constructed Grand Junction did not fare well in this struggle. Its lightly ballasted track was broken up by frost upheavals
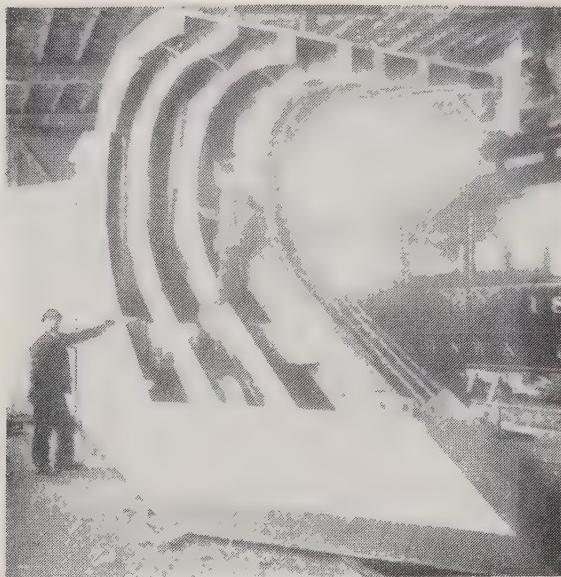
The Rathbun Company railroad shops at Deseronto produced railway equipment in the late nineteenth century, including snow plows for the Great Western Railway Company and streets cars for the Oshawa Street Railway Company.

following a severe winter, washouts were common, traffic declined, and payrolls could no longer be met. As a result the railroad was absorbed by the Midland Railway in 1881, pretty well completing the consolidation of the various independent lines north of Lake Ontario. One of the consolidated company's first moves was to standardize the narrow gauge lines of the Belleville and North Hastings Railway.

In effect the consolidated Midland Railway was a branch of the Grand Trunk. To prevent the independent lines from coming under the control of the rapidly expanding Canadian Pacific Railroad Company, the Grand Trunk had encouraged the formation of the consolidated line and had supplied funds for the Midland's purchase of the Grand Junction. By 1884 two-thirds of the Midland stock was held by the Grand Trunk, and nine years later amalgamation took place officially.

Although the Grand Junction ceased to exist as a separate entity, it remained important. The Midland, the Grand Trunk, and later the Canadian National, continued to use parts of its trackage as a part of the loop line from Belleville to Toronto via Peterborough and Lindsay. The Pinnacle Street track remained in use until Railroad Week, 1964, when it was officially closed.

The Grand Trunk, Grand Junction, and Belleville and North Hastings railroads were not the only lines associated closely with this county's history. In the 1880's the Rathbun Lumbering Company of Deseronto established the Bay of Quinte Railway to bring timber from the northern reaches of the county to its extensive lumber mills at Deseronto. With the decline of the lumber trade and the collapse of the Rathbun enterprises early in this century, the Bay of Quinte Railway, fell into disuse until it was purchased by the Canadian Northern Railway, which company in 1911 completed a line from Deseronto to Toronto, thereby ushering in a new era of "railroad fever." The Canadian Northern built engine shops and

yards at Trenton and many of its cars were constructed in the former Rathbun shops at Deseronto. Unfortunately, this line could not compete with the well-established Grand Trunk and finally in the 1920's it was submerged in the newly organized Canadian National Railway system.

Another local line to become part of the Canadian National Railway system in the 1920's was the Central Ontario Railway operating north from Trenton to Marmora and Bancroft. The Central Ontario had begun as an extension of the Prince Edward Railway Company which by 1879 linked Picton and Trenton Junction. By 1884 the Central Ontario Railway reached Coe Hill, and on November 7, 1907, the citizens of Bancroft welcomed this rail link to the south. Like so many other railroads, the Central Ontario Railway was planned to carry the lumber and minerals of North Hastings. The Bessemer Spur was intended to tie in with the iron mines there, but little traffic resulted. The Central Ontario continued to act as a feeder for the Montreal-Toronto lines of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk until it became a part of the Canadian National System.

The fifty years prior to the creation of the Canadian National Railway had witnessed a gradual change in railroad patterns. No longer did all northern produce come down by road to Belleville. Railroads had given the northern townships other outlets — for example the Central Ontario to Coe Hill and Bancroft, the Canadian Pacific through Tweed, and the Bay of Quinte line to centre Hastings. Following the establishment of the Canadian National Railway system after World War I, these lines were consolidated, with the exception of the C. P. R. This amalgamation would solve many of the problems created by the too-rapid railroad expansion of the 1870's and 1900's — the last two great instances of "railroad fever" in Hastings County. It would also usher in the age of the two railroad system in this area.

The Central Ontario Railway Station at Bancroft, circa 1900. Lumber was a major product of the area.

The Belleville Riot

"A riot and disturbance of the peace has occurred at the station of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada at Belleville . . . in which passengers and other trains and Her Majesty's mails have been stopped."

(Telegram from Mayor W. A. Foster, Jan. 1, 1877, requesting military aid)

For more than a century Belleville has been a divisional centre on the Grand Trunk Railway (now a part of the Canadian National Railway system). In that time the railway has been a valuable asset to the progress and economy of both the city and the county. However, on one occasion, labour unrest in that company led to one of the few riots recorded in our history — a riot that was to require the presence of the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto to restore law and order. This was the Belleville Riot of 1876-77.

On the eve of the riot Belleville was an apparently prosperous town, destined to become a city within a year. The economy was based on lumbering, diversified manufactures such as farm implements, and railroads. The Grand Trunk Railway had announced plans for new engine sheds, passenger station, and repair sheds; and the Grand Junction Railroad was nearing completion from Belleville to Madoc Junction. Unfortunately, an ominous cloud hung over the economy.

A world-wide recession or slight depression, commencing in 1873, had deepened by 1875 to the point where the Grand Trunk announced slight wage reductions to engineers. Then on November 29, 1876, the Toronto *Globe* announced that the Grand Trunk Railway had decided not to proceed with the erection of the new engine sheds, passenger station, and other facilities at Belleville until times improved. Because of "a continuous stagnation in business and the competition resulting from the construction of rival lines", further economies were needed, and in December the railroad cut its train service by about twenty per cent. A similar reduction in staff was also made, two days before Christmas, and 66 of the 357 engineers on the Grand Trunk System were dismissed. Wages for the remaining employees were not cut, so that first-class engineers continued to receive $3.01 a day, and remained the highest-paid railroad employees.

The workers' reaction to these dismissals was immediate. It was charged that the layoff had been handled in a most unfortunate manner. (And coming as it did only two days before Christmas in a very cold and severe winter with no likelihood of immediate satisfactory employment and no unemployment insurance benefits, one has to agree). It was also charged that the railroad had laid off some long employed engineers

while retaining newer and therefore less expensive help. Thirdly, according to some of the men, the Grand Trunk had discharged several employees because they had joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, then gathering strength throughout North America. There was some thought of an immediate strike when the announcement of the staff reductions was made; however, this did not materialize and on Christmas Day, 1876, the *Montreal Gazette* happily reported that rumours of a strike have "turned out to be entirely without foundation."

The engineers and firemen were prepared to take their grievances and requests to the company management. They would negotiate for a time, but in their meetings with General Manager J. Hickson they made it clear that if their demands were not met, they would strike as of 9 p.m. Friday, December 29. They demanded that all dismissed engineers and firemen should be re-instated; that a system of arbitration should be established to settle problems; that in case of reduction, job preference be based on experience or seniority; and that no engineer or fireman should be fired without a fair and impartial trial. Apparently this last demand did not apply to foremen, since the employees also recommended the removal of two foremen, one of them being Adolphus D— of Belleville, whose "domineering and arbitary conduct", they claimed, made it impossible for them to work under him.

Hickson was not prepared to meet these demands. He had a railroad to run efficiently and he did not feel that the company should be dictated to by the recently-formed railroad brotherhoods. He did concede that, when additional men were required, preference should be given to men formerly employed, but the suggestion was that they would be hired in a lower category and therefore at a lower salary than previously.

Realizing that there would likely be a strike commencing Friday evening, December 29, at 9 p.m., Hickson took preparatory action. Advertisements appeared in the press calling for engineers to report for work to superintendents at Belleville and Stratford. He would train new men as fast as he could and use non-union members who were willing to work. In short he would use "renegades" and "scabs" to break the strike.

On Friday, when it became apparent that neither the company nor the union would back down, the railway held most trains in terminals. However, at 9 p.m., the five still on the line were brought to a standstill, although in three cases the engineers instructed others in the operation of the engines so that the passengers might reach their destination. Not all passengers were as fortunate and the Toronto *Globe* reported that "The train which left Montreal yesterday morning is now stranded 3 miles from Cobourg. The passengers spent the night in the middle of a snow storm, and virtually cut off from all outside communications." Whereupon the Toronto Board of Trade and Montreal City Council bitterly condemned what they called the "monstrous and illegal strike". Even more outspoken was Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, recently appointed president of the Grand

Trunk Railway, who condemned the engineers who had left the trains stranded as having sunk "almost to the level of burglars".

To block traffic at Belleville, the strikers put two snowplows off the rails, one at each end of the yard. When the Grand Trunk began to move men into the town to operate the trains, pressure was applied by the strikers, and thirteen would-be strike-breakers found themselves joining the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Strikers and sympathizers, some of them armed with pistols, gathered at the Grand Trunk Station and by their presence intimidated the company's loyal servants.

Belleville, 1877. View from City Hall showing (left to right) Belleville High School, Dafoe House, Bridge Street Methodist Church, and St. Thomas Anglican Church (recently gutted by fire).

This threat to law and order alarmed the town magistrates who felt that some action must be taken. Unfortunately the town's police force was in no way able to do this. Early in December, the chief had been fired for physical inability, and the senior sergeant had been dismissed for drunkenness on duty. A former chief had been reappointed and the number of constables reduced to six, one less than before. At the time of the strike, both men claimed to be chief, but neither went to the Grand Trunk Railway station at the height of the dispute! In fact the police were conspicuous by their absence, Sergeant Snyder alone being commended for his action in the affair. So confused had the whole situation of the police department become that three weeks after the strike, the new chief was in turn dismissed. This followed the theft of the Police Commission records from the police chief's desk, and the opening of the town clerk's safe by duplicate keys.

With the strikers controlling the Grand Trunk Station area and local police unwilling to take action, the town authorities sought help from

the local militia. On Saturday, December 30, the magistrates headed by Mayor W. A. Foster drew up a requisition calling upon Lieutenant-Colonel James Brown, M. P. as senior officer of the militia, to provide a detachment to aid the civil powers in the maintenance of law and order. As commanding officer of the Forty-ninth Rifle Regiment, Brown in turn instructed Captain Edward Harrison of the First Company to take a detachment to the station. These instructions reached Captain Harrison at 9 p.m. on Saturday evening, and despite the lateness of the hour, twenty-four men were quickly recruited.

Since there was not as much as a single ball cartridge in store at the armouries, Harrison was obliged to borrow ammunition from a private citizen. Then, in company with Lieutenant Johnson, he proceeded with the detachment to the railway station. Hearing reports that a large number of heavily armed men were lurking about the engine shed, Harrison issued two rounds of ball ammunition to each man with instruction that it was "upon no account to be used without the clear and positive orders of the officer commanding". Grand Trunk Railway Superintendent Davis requested the protection of the Rifles to assist him in the safe removal of a locomotive from the sheds. This was done "under cover of the Rifles with bayonets fixed".

During the rest of the night the men were kept busy in moving from point to point to protect the company's servants in their efforts to replace the derailed cars. However, no sooner had they replaced one car at the eastern end of the yard than it was derailed again, while the soldiers were protecting operations at the western limits. At 5 o'clock on the morning of December 31, the Rifles again escorted an engine from the shed. This engine proceeded to Shannonville and returned with the eastern express which was protected on its entry to the station yard. At that point, Harrison felt that some serious acts of violence might erupt, and so the remainder of the company was called to the station. The soldiers now prepared to protect the express as it left for Toronto. The order to "fix bayonets" was given. the soldiers surrounded the engine, and it was thus escorted to a point at the intersection of the switch with the main line. At that point "the desperate attempts of the mob to frustrate the efforts of the Railway Company . . . began more fully to develop itself . . . Both the engine drivers and the volunteers became objects of undisguised hatred by the mob, and for some little time they continued to be, as it were, targets at which the most murderous threats were hurled." Some of the mob brandished revolvers and hurled car bolts at the engine. Within fifteen yards of the train, one of the rioters stepped behind the last soldier and passed an iron bolt into the engine's machinery. A load noise followed and the engine was disabled. This success encouraged the mob who now resorted to several acts of personal violence, and for a few minutes it was feared that a serious loss of life would occur. Accordingly the company decided not to try to move the Toronto express, and Harrison marched his detachment back to the armouries.

Two matters concerning the Forty-ninth's participation later caused considerable criticism. First there was the shortage of ammunition. This criticism was partly answered by the Adjutant-General's statement that it was "not prudent" to keep a supply of ammunition in company armouries, since it was "liable to become useless or stolen". The second criticism was summarized by a Kingston army officer:

"I am at a loss to conceive how the civil authorities allowed (the Forty-ninth) to withdraw from the station at a time when the aid of the military appeared to be most required."

This was valid criticism; but, in the opinion of Mayor Foster, Deputy Sheriff John Taylor, and other magistrates, it was felt that the Forty-ninth's presence could be of no immediate value. Even Grand Trunk Solicitor John Bell, a Belleville lawyer, stated that nothing could be done with force at their disposal at the station. Accordingly the Forty-ninth was relieved from duty about 2 p.m. on Sunday, December 31, and later reports complimented Harrison's men on their satisfactory performance of duty.

The withdrawal of the Forty-ninth did not mean the end of local militia activity, for two hours later Mayor Foster returned to the station with two companies of forty men of the Fifteenth Battalion, Argyll Light Infantry, under Major S. S. Lazier. This was only done with the greatest difficulty since the regiment had not drilled for a year, the officers did not know the whereabouts of their men, many men were absent because of holidays or lumbering, and others refused to turn out because of "a strong feeling of sympathy . . . for the men on strike".

The Fifteenth was also criticized on the basis of unfounded press reports that thirty per cent of the force had deserted; correct reports that the company had to borrow overcoats, despite the recent issuing of more than one hundred to them, and Major Lazier's tardiness in submitting a report because he felt "nothing of importance" happened while the men were under arms. As a result of these criticisms a military investigation was held, the investigating officer reporting:

"It seems to me that in the present disorganized state of the 15th Battalion, to call on them at short notice, in aid of the civil powers, would find them utterly wanting in all the requisites which makes a military force useful on such an occasion . . . I think however, the Regiment will improve vastly under Major Lazier, who is capable of commanding and has a good reputation in Belleville."

At the station, the Fifteenth found things fairly quiet, the strikers being content as long as no attempt was made to move the trains. One company of the Fifteenth guarded each of the two large engine sheds, but the men remaining in the employ of the company were very indignant, feeling that they could protect the engine sheds without military assistance. Accordingly, the soldiers were allowed to go home at 8 a.m. on New Year's Day.

The Four Corners,
Belleville, circa 1876.

Two hours after the Fifteenth left the station, County Attorney C. L. Coleman called the local authorities together for a meeting in the Town Hall. It was apparent that local militia forces were inadequate to the task of reopening the Grand Trunk line. And the Grand Trunk could not be allowed to remain blocked indefinitely. Therefore a telegram was sent by Mayor Foster to the Militia Headquarters in Toronto stating that because of the "riot and disturbance of the peace", a military force was needed to restore law and order.

This telegram reached Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. Durie at 3 p.m. on New Year's Day. After confirming its authenticity and consulting the Attorney-General's Office, Durie decided that a force of about two hundred would be sufficient and at 6:30 p.m. he called on the Queen's Own Rifles to provide this detachment. Officers and NCO's worked all night contacting the men and the next day at 7:30 a.m., 167 officers and men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Otter paraded at the Old Fort at Toronto. Three hours later the detachment entrained from the Union Station accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Durie, who felt it necessary to come to Belleville in view of the seriousness of the situation and the fact that no train had moved for three full days. The train consisted of two engines and some eighteen or nineteen passenger cars with pilot engines in front. Owing to threats of violence, guards were placed in the cabs of each engine, and at every station guards immediately surrounded the engines and tenders. On arrival at Sidney, seven miles from Belleville, at 9 p.m., the force was met by Mayor Foster and the railway's solicitor, John Bell. Mayor Foster informed Colonel Durie of "the wildest rumours" concerning violence and reported that earlier that day he had issued a proclamation warning all parties not having business to transact at the Grand Trunk Station "to refrain from going thereto, and to disperse therefrom". The local strikers, numbering about a hundred, had not heeded this advice.

and the train carrying the Queen's Own Rifles proceeded cautiously from Sidney Station, arriving safely at Belleville about 10:30 p.m. on the evening of January 2. At that time the mob of some seven hundred "riotously disposed" persons yelled, threw stones, ice, bricks, and bolts and otherwise opposed the soldiers.

At about 1 a.m. on the morning of January 3, the train proceeded on to Montreal, a guard of one company of the Queen's Own being furnished, on the urgent request of the mayor. According to a *Globe* reporter, this train was beset by strikers who attempted to disconnect the coaches as it left Belleville. He noted that the conductor rallied the passengers who used camp stools to drive off the invaders. However, according to the Montreal *Gazette*, the accounts of this unusual fight aboard the train were exaggerated. "There must have been a collision between a wag and a gullible reporter," noted the *Gazette*.

After the train continued on to Montreal, Lieutenant Colonel Durie ordered the other engines placed in the carefully guarded engine house. "By some unlucky means" one of these engines ran off the track in proceeding to the engine-house, and the whole force was required to guard the railway men who worked on the very cold but moonlit night to repair the damage. It was necessary to "advance with fixed bayonets in order to press the mob back", and some injuries resulted. One man, described as "a drunken fellow who took part in the disturbance", was seriously wounded in the thigh by a bayonet, but was saved from bleeding to death by the military doctor present. Two members of the Queen's Own Rifles suffered head injuries when struck by stones or ice. At 4 o'clock on the morning of January 3, the men were relieved. They were lodged in a large boarding house near the station, the railway company supplying some food and small beds for the officers and men. While at Belleville, the Queen's Own Rifles apprehended one man in the act of thrusting an iron bolt into the engine. The prisoner was marched with military escort through the crowd and safely lodged in jail. By the time he appeared for trial the strike had been settled and so the company refused to proceed with the case.

The settlement of the strike represented a victory for the engineers and firemen to some extent. Although Hickson did not grant all their demands, he did agree to allow all men to resume work except those guilty of personal violence. The work would be evenly distributed, and a later meeting would be held to settle the question of wages and promotions. The settlement grew out of a four hour meeting Monday evening at Montreal between the Grand Trunk General Manager and strike representatives. A meeting of engineers and firemen in Toronto, Tuesday evening until the small hours of Wednesday morning, approved the settlement, and later in the day official news of the strike settlement reached Belleville. Unofficial word had arrived several hours before, but the heads of the Belleville Committee of the Strikers refused to allow any trains to move until they had verified the settlement.

Although the firemen and engineers were generally satisfied with the settlement, Grand Trunk officials were less than enthusiastic. The general manager expressed his sentiments emphatically:

"The terms which have been made with the men I do not consider by any means satisfactory; and law and order, and that discipline necessary amongst the staff of a great railway company, in order to secure the maximum of safety to the public using the railway, have received a rude shock by the proceedings of the last few days . . ."

The general manager then declared that the government at Ottawa was responsible for this setback to the company. In a sense the federal government of Alexander Mackenzie was partially responsible. Mackenzie had repeatedly refused to agree to Hickson's request that regularly enlisted troops at Quebec and Kingston should be used to restore train service on the Grand Trunk, Mackenzie's excuse being that the permanent forces could only be used in case of "war, invasion, or insurrection". Moreover, Hickson's attempts to have the militia at Napanee and Kingston called out to open the line at Belleville failed. The towns would not pay the costs of the operation, and a Sunday afternoon meeting at Napanee showed that sympathy appeared to be strongly in favour of the striking engineers.

The Queen's Own Rifles, 1877.

The settlement of the strike relieved tension at Belleville. At 7 o'clock on the evening of January 3, the Queen's Own Rifles departed from Belleville via special train. Two men had been wounded in the course of duty, while three men on engine guard had had their feet frozen and many others had suffered frozen fingers. This illustrated the hardship of sending men on service in the winter without fur caps, boots, and gloves.

On the credit side, each rifleman received a woollen muffler as a souvenir of his service in Belleville, and the Grand Trunk Railway presented the regiment with a silver cup and each man with a souvenir medal. These medals were made from a portion of one of the torn-up rails and were inscribed "Q O R . . . Belleville, 1877." Each member of the

Queen's Own Rifles should also have received three dollars in pay; however, the Belleville council refused to pay the costs involved, feeling that the company or the Canadian government should bear a share of the expense. Since the town council had called out the troops, the commanding officer of the Queen's Own promptly sued the town after "repeated fruitless efforts to secure the pay . . ." On October 2, 1877, the Courts ruled in favour of the Regiment.

The strike provided a chance for criticism of the federal government. The Montreal *Gazette* noted:

"The questions arising out of it — the utter helplessness of this country in presence of even so comparatively small mobs . . . and the indifference shown by the Government, remain, however, as humiliating memories of the last five days."

Prompted by this reaction to its policies, the Mackenzie Government passed the Breaches of Contract Act, 1877, designed to protect the public against unreasonable suffering in the event of another strike.

The strike was important locally. Intimidation, violence and injury had taken place, leading to the revelation of the police force's inefficiency. The Forty-ninth Battalion had demonstrated its general efficiency and the somewhat incompetent Fifteenth Battalion had begun its rebuilding programme under Major Lazier. Moreover, the dismissed Grand Trunk Railway employees were again employed.

The role of the town officials was to be questioned since the conscientiousness of Mayor Foster and the other magistrates had unwittingly involved the city in violence, a court case, costs of several hundreds of dollars, and charges that the city fathers favoured the company against the workers. If the city fathers had left it to the Grand Trunk Railway to settle its own strike, would these difficulties have been avoided? Probably so, since at other railway divisional points there had been less violence. Only in Belleville were the troops called out and only in Belleville was there much physical injury. Yet one should not be too critical of the city fathers. Caught up in a crisis that was not of their making, they had reacted to it in a conscientious manner that did them credit.

One Canadian historian has summed up the Grand Trunk Railway strike and Belleville Riot in this way:

"In a sense the fuss over the strike was ridiculous but at a time when industrial violence was rare and employers expected workers to be subservient, it attracted great attention."

Chapter 30

The Trent Canal

"The Trent Canal project has been a subject of public criticism and often of ridicule, ever since it was conceived."

<div align="right">(Trent Watershed Survey, 1913)</div>

The Trent Canal, more properly called the Trent-Severn Waterway, is one of the earliest and most interesting canal systems in Ontario. Its history is the history of the white man in this region, and even before the coming of the Loyalists, the route had been an important Indian waterway. The Indian name for the Trent River was Saggettewedgewam, a "river hard to follow", and down this river in 1615 the Hurons brought Samuel de Champlain on his historic visit to the Bay of Quinte. For the next two centuries this route was largely neglected, Benjamin Frobisher noting in 1785 that he had met only one man who had used the Trent route to Georgian Bay instead of the Ottawa or Toronto routes, and that person in 1761. Frobisher and other fur traders, explorers and surveyors favoured the Toronto-Carrying Place route to the upper lakes and the Ottawa River, partly because of the inadequate water facilities along the Trent.

In the early 1800's the inland movement of settlers, the need for timber, and possible military advantages focused attention on this route. The noted agitator and reformer, Robert Gourlay, proposed a canal to link the Bay of Quinte to Rice Lake. In his *Memoir on the Defence of Upper Canada*, 1815, Gustavus Nicolls wrote of the military advantages of such a canal from the head of the Bay of Quinte to Lake Simcoe. Five years later, J. W. Bannister suggested that such a canal project might be financed by a government-sponsored lottery or by combining that project with settlement plans, tolls on the settlers' trade paying for the improved waterway. The Imperial government accepted this latter alternative as a possibility and surveyors were sent out to make plans for a combined colonization and military route. However, attention soon turned to the Welland Canal scheme to link Lakes Ontario and Erie.

It was only in the 1830's that positive action was taken towards commencing the canal. Late in 1833 a civil engineer, N. H. Baird, submitted a thorough report on the project based on his exploration of the existing system in the fall of that year. He estimated the cost of a canal system from the Bay of Quinte to Peterborough to be £233,000, but felt that this large expenditure would be offset by tolls charged to lumberers (perhaps £6,000 a year), good access to the Marmora Iron Works (which he had inspected and found to be very vital to the economy of all Upper Canada), and increased settlement, since he found the existing method of transportation to be by "perhaps, the worst of roads in the province". Moreover,

there would be less loss of human life among the "wicked" rapids near the mouth of the Trent and navigation would be possible on Rice Lake. Following this report a short canal at Bobcaygeon was completed in 1835 and some work was done on the Otonabee below Peterborough. In a second report, compiled in 1835, Baird modified his stress on canals by suggesting railroads could be used temporarily to bypass some of the worst sections, such as the Nine Mile Rapids directly north of Trenton.
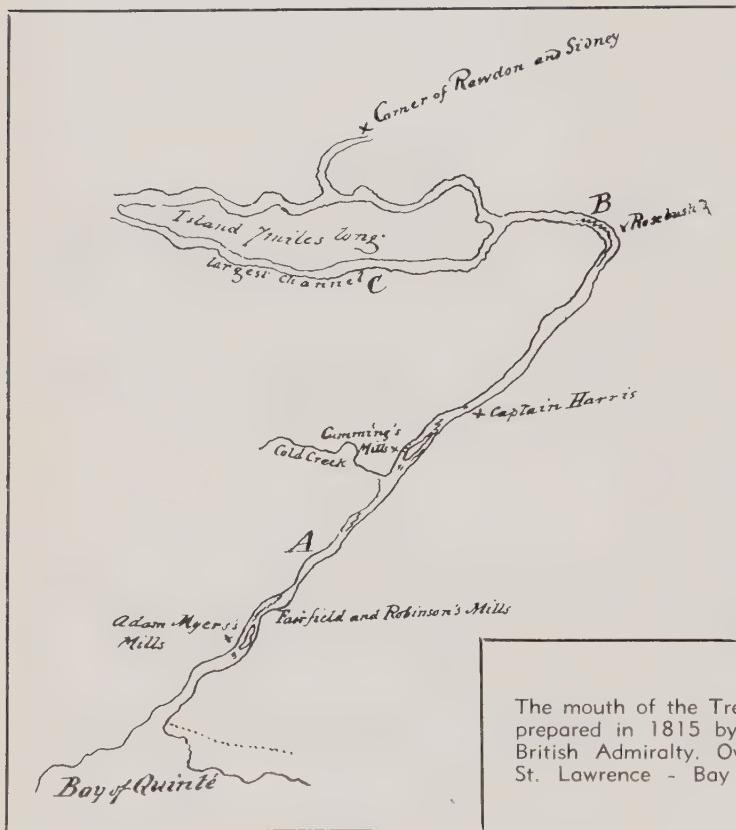
The mouth of the Trent River, from a map prepared in 1815 by W. F. Owen for the British Admiralty. Owen also charted the St. Lawrence - Bay of Quinte waterway.

Baird's plans appealed to the Legislative Assembly, a committee of which reported in 1837 that the opening of navigation on the lower sections of the river would be advantageous if only because the Marmora Iron Works could be reopened. Because of poor roads these works had been abandoned, and their reopening would mean that it would no longer be necessary to import annually 200,000 pounds of iron into the province. The Marmora Iron Works would supply iron for the "contemplated railroads". Accordingly, the provincial government set aside almost $140,000 to develop the Trent and tenders were called for the construction of several parts of the system. These included a dam, stone lock and excavation at Meyers' Island at the mouth of the Trent, a dam nine miles north at Widow Harris's, and a lock and timber slide at Chisholm's Rapids.

Unfortunately these plans were only partly implemented. The depression of 1837-39 coupled with political unrest led the government to spend almost half of the $140,000 elsewhere. Accordingly, when work was suspended in 1839, only the work at Meyers' Island had been completed. The stone for this project had come from Ox Point or Point Anne near Belleville where ten stone cutters had been employed for two years in quarrying and preparing the stone. Unfortunately the Chisholm's Rapids were in an unfinished condition, and nothing had been done on the Nine-Mile Rapids or the Harris dam at the northern end of this turbulent section. Thus the first nine miles of the waterway could not be used by boats and the completed sections were denied access to the Bay of Quinte.
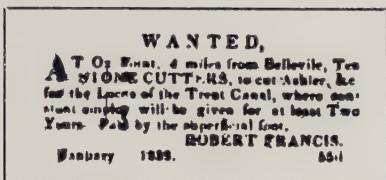
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WANTED,
AT O₅ Canal, 4 miles from Belleville, Ten
STONE CUTTERS, to cut Ashler, &c
for the Locks of the Trent Canal, where con-
stant employ will be given for at least Two
Years. Paid by the superficial foot.
                              ROBERT FRANCIS.
January   1839.                          65-1
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Moreover, the canal system faced other problems. There had been a loss of life during construction, and now that construction had stopped, lumberers were cutting holes in the dams in order to facilitate timber movement. This vandalism temporarily ceased in 1843 when the government again set out to complete the canal. Thomas McGrath was named superintendent; and from his office at Brophy's Hotel in Frankford he supervised construction of a stone dam at the head of the Nine-Mile Rapids, completed the unfinished lock and slide at Chisholm's and began piers and booms at Percy Landing, Raney's Falls and Campbellford.

Again the canal system was beset by problems. Construction slackened and fell off. By 1849 the works at Widow Harris's and Chisholm's were said to have been "shamefully neglected". The cost of maintaining the booms and timber slides continued to exceed the revenue from tolls. Consequently in 1855 the government licensed the Trent Slide Committee to control these booms and slides. The committee would levy tolls on the timber, especially on the upper reaches of the system, and use this money to keep the works repaired.

During the 1850's Hastings County Council took the lead in pressing for the completion of construction. Although only a small portion of the system's 240 miles was in Hastings County, the county would reap large rewards from a successful canal, since Trenton was the southern entrance. At considerable expense, council published N. H. Baird's earlier reports on the advantages of this route and petitioned the Canadian government to take action. But the slowly growing population along the proposed waterway did not seem to justify a large expenditure in the 1850's, at a time when the St. Lawrence route and the railroad expansion required large outlays of funds.

Since the Nine-Mile Rapids and other sections of the canal system were not really navigable in the late nineteenth century, there was little hope of navigation on the rather crooked waterway, and timber remained its main business. Slides, dams, and booms aided the descent of timber.
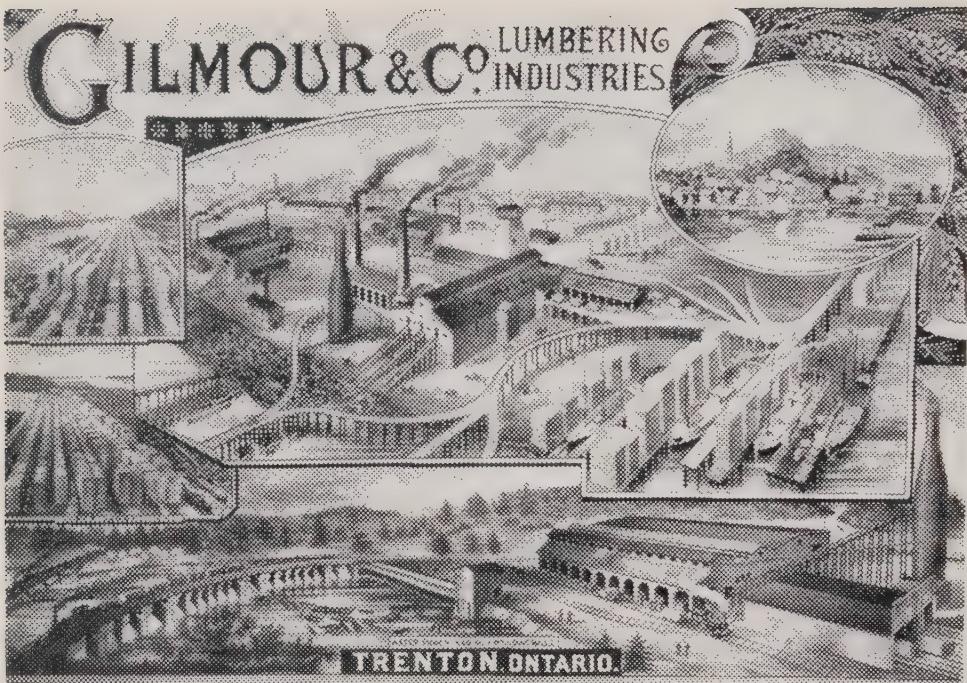
The Gilmour Company, giant of the Trent River system lumber companies.

and in the 1872-73 season about 117,000,000 board feet of pine lumber were produced by saw mills along the Trent. The giant of these companies was the Gilmour Company, whose Trenton mill manufactured 22,000,000 feet in that season. In addition, the company rafted some square timber for the Quebec market. Unfortunately, as the century progressed, the timber stands were depleted, and by 1912 the lumber companies were producing less than ten per cent of what they had in 1871-72. The Gilmour Company's mill at Trenton ceased operations and the only major county producer using the Trent was the Pearce Company of Marmora with a production of some 450,000 feet annually. So marked was the decline in timber and so apparent was the mismanagement of the resources of the area that the Dominion Conservation Commission made an extensive study of the Trent Watershed region, leading to the beginnings of a reforestation policy.

Meanwhile the building of the canal system was continuing by what one writer calls a "driblet policy". As the nineteenth century neared its close, small amounts were being spent on widely separated parts of the waterway. Only in 1896 was this policy abandoned and a determined effort begun to complete the project. By 1907, another survey had concluded that Trenton should definitely be the entrance to the system (as the original planners had decided almost a century before) rather than Port Hope which sought the honour. By 1910, a million dollars a year was being spent on the canal, and in 1912 that figure was doubled, this money being largely used to develop the Lake Ontario entrance. It was not until 1918 that the northern access was completed when two "cheaply-constructed

marine railways" were constructed instead of the last two locks on the Severn River. This was a wise economy.

The serious decline of the lumber trade, the absence of any large agricultural traffic in this region, and the drift of population away from the region especially after 1900 dictated that the route should be completed as economically as possible.

Only in recent years has the canal become a real asset. With the increase of pleasure-boating, it attracts many visitors to this area — visitors who in using the canal help to justify the vision of the nineteenth century planners who predicted that this waterway would one day be a significant link between Lake Ontario and the Upper Lakes.

These views at the southern entrance to the Trent-Severn Waterway show that pleasure-boaters were making good use of the area at the beginning of this century.
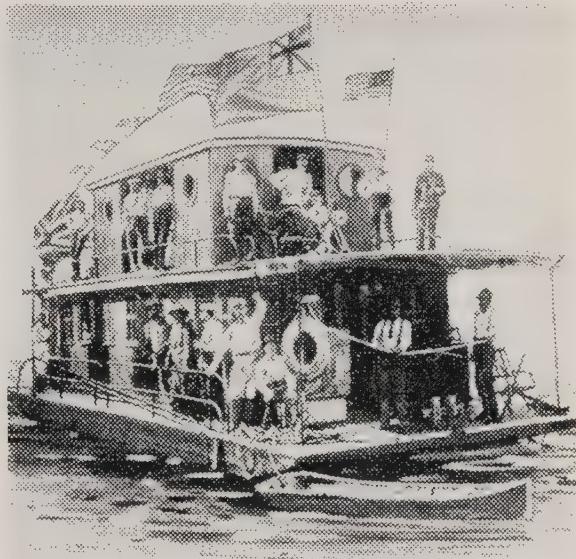
Chapter **31**

The Late Victorians

*"The last 40 years of the 19th century were the great
period of village life in old Ontario."*

(*Moira Valley Conservation Report*)

The villages of Hastings County continued to prosper during the
last decades of the nineteenth century. Some increased in size and im-
portance, although for the most part their growth was slower than it had
been in the roaring fifties and sixties. The villages and countryside adopt-
ed a more conservative appearance as the brawling, vigorous lumber-
men and miners gradually gave way to sober, steadfast store clerks and
farmers. Except for the northern regions, the process of settlement had
been completed by about 1880, and some townships began to lose popu-
lation.

In the northern townships there was still an air of excitement. The
railroads opened these areas to settlement and offered several outlets for
trade. These railways, such as the Central Ontario to Coe Hill and the
Napanee-Tamworth line to Tweed and Eldorado, were complemented by
170 miles of good gravel roads by 1880.

This improved transportation network encouraged, and was encour-
aged by, mining ventures in centre and north Hastings. A major pro-
ject was the Madoc ironworks, which remained in fairly continuous
operation from 1851 to about 1880. Other iron mines also were worked
from 1869 to the mid 1880's, when production of iron ceased for about
ten years. The original gold rush of 1866-67 and its occasional revivals
(the last main period being around the turn of the century) brought some
prosperity to the mining business. From 1896 to 1903, Canadian Gold-
fields Company worked some gold properties at Deloro, extracting a
significant amount of gold as well as large quantities of arsenic. In
fact, the mining of arsenic and sulphur remained important, arsenic
being mined at Deloro until after the Second World War, and sulphur
near Bannockburn from 1889 to 1906 and near Sulphide for most of
the present century. Also about 1900, talc mining became an important
county industry, and the Henderson and Connolly mines near Madoc
earned a reputation for being among the world's most productive. Fur-
ther evidence of the county's diversified mineral resources was to be
seen in the exploitation of the limestone and marl beds at Marlbank
near Lime Lake as early as the 1870's (a local cement industry soon
developing), and the working of the actinolite deposits during the two
succeeding decades by the Actinolite Roofing Company at Bridgewater.
For the most part, however, these mining ventures were carried out inter-
mittently on a relatively small scale and offered limited employment
opportunities.

Similarly lumbering did not employ the many thousands of workers the publicists had hoped it would always need. Although Belleville had the largest saw mills west of Ottawa in the 1860's, by 1870 the peak for timber products had been reached, and thereafter a steady decline set in. In that year the county produced nearly 700,000 cubic feet of squared pine alone; however, poor management, the exhaustion of the timber stands, and far too frequent fires soon cut into this industry. Pine and oak became scarce, and their successors in the squared timber trade—ash, birch, elm and maple—were not as suitable. In 1907 the last drive came down the Moira, and although lumbering remained a significant industry in the north, its overall value to the county's economy continued to lessen.
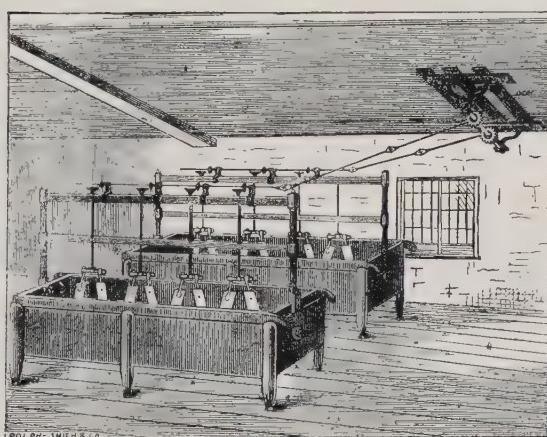
A mechanical method for manufacturing cheese, patented 1880 by A. H. Brintnell of Hastings County. By 1883, this equipment was being used successfully in cheese factories at Foxboro, Moira, Thomasburg, Thurlow and Tweed. The price was $65 per vat, and the equipment was said to produce more cheese than by hand labour or any other method.

With the decline of lumbering and the uncertainty of mining, agriculture became more and more the dominant industry of rural Hastings. Wheat farming, dairying and stock raising were the key agricultural activities at Confederation, the latter two soon surpassing the first. Cheese production increased rapidly. In 1872, a cheese board was established at Belleville to help market the product, and the next year, almost 4,000,000 pounds were shipped from Belleville. By the 1890's, there were at least 33 cheese factories in the Moira watershed. The present Black Diamond Cheese Company, the first company in the world to market a cheese under a brand name, owes its existence to the quality of Canadian cheddar cheese. One of the constituent firms of the Black Diamond Company, W. S. Cook and Son Limited, began operations at Belleville in 1872. The farmers' wood lots supplied maple sugar and syrup in quantities much greater than those produced today. Besides, in the 1870's there was a preference for Canadian barley among American brewers, and a substantial export trade developed. Unfortunately, American barley growers soon caused the Republican Party in the 1880's to increase tariffs on the local product, and this cut deeply into the export market.

Tanner's Belleville and Ivanhoe stage, circa 1900.

The decline of the barley market was symptomatic of the state of agriculture in the late nineteenth century. Although overall production remained constant and some industries such as dairying seemed to prosper, agriculture was undergoing a gradual revolution. The farmer who had made a modest living on his small holdings now found that because of soil depletion, increased costs of machinery, and competition from farmers working large holdings with modern machinery, he could no longer survive. Consequently there was a significant movement away from marginal farm lands, and especially after the 1870's townships such as Huntingdon, Elzevir, and Tyendinaga found their population steadily dwindling, a trend that has continued almost to the present.

By the 1890's, some of the villages were feeling the effects of this agricultural recession, as well as the impact of mining and lumber fluctuations, natural disaster, and the competition of a few well located trade and industrial centres. Incorporated as a village in 1878, Madoc failed to increase its population to any extent for the next 70 years. Cannifton declined because of its inability to compete with nearby Belleville businesses, and Bridgewater and Deseronto never recovered from disastrous fires in 1889 and 1896 respectively. In the southern half of the county, few villages grew during the late nineteenth century. In the Moira watershed, perhaps Tweed experienced the steadiest growth, but even this village would experience a temporary setback in the 1920-30 era. Further north, the new communities such as Bancroft experienced a greater expansion, largely because of their nearby forests.

Belleville remained as the centre of the county's economy. In the sixties and seventies, the town experienced prosperity and rapid growth. The railways, dairying industry, trade, and Madoc mining boom all helped. Lumber remained a vital commodity. A special census in 1876 showed Belleville to be "wonderfully large" (about 11,120 people). Moreover, the population was expected to expand, especially if a proposed iron smelter was erected. Belleville might become the "Birmingham of North America" because of the nearby iron mines and ever

present railroad schemes. Accordingly, the town fathers successfully petitioned the provincial government to have Belleville declared a city. The statute took effect December 31, 1877; however, winter weather dictated that the celebrations should be delayed until July 1, 1878. That gala day began with a colourful street parade in the morning, followed by races and various sports at the fairgrounds in the afternoon. A civic banquet based "upon Temperance principals" was followed by an evening torch light procession from the market square to the fairgrounds, where Professor Hand supervised a spectacular fireworks display.

Unfortunately this pyrotechnic display did not usher in a boom period in the new city's history. The world depression of the mid seventies was being felt locally, as the Grand Trunk Railroad and other companies were not carrying out their anticipated building projects, the lumber trade slackened, and after 1880 flour milling and the farm produce export trade declined. The city's population fell below the 9,000 mark, and it was only during World War I that the figure of 10,000 was reached again. This recovery was aided by the expanded dairy and cheese industry and the growth of diversified manufacturing.

July 1, 1876: Belleville's Celebration of Dominion Day and incorporation as a city. Similar decorations had greeted Sir John A. Macdonald on September 12, 1876.

Although the economy of the county did not behave as the Chamber of Commerce would have wished, this was a period of improvement and refinement in many ways. *Belden's Atlas* (1878) described the people of the county as "thrifty, cautious and hospitable". Many of the communities were changing from rough lumbering or mining communities into villages of respectable, conservative tradespeople and craftsmen. Law and order flourished. At Belleville, an eight man police force in 1878 was captained by Hugh McKinnon "a name which strikes terror into the hearts of evil-doers". Drunkenness was on the wane, as liquor laws were being strictly enforced. In 1877, the local correspondent of the Toronto *Globe* rejoiced that the lessee of the Belleville Opera House had been charged for allowing the sale of lager beer on the premises. A

hotel-keeper at Tweed was fined twenty dollars for selling liquor on Sunday. These prosecutions were part of a strong temperance movement then sweeping across much of the province. A temperance leader by the name of Rine addressed ever-growing crowds at Belleville in the fall of 1877. Five meetings were held, including two in the thousand seat opera house whose owner had just been prosecuted for illegal sales. The *Globe* noted the great enthusiasm shown by the large audiences, the presence of nearly every local minister, and the signing of the pledge by over sixteen hundred persons, among them "several hard drinkers". This enthusiasm resulted in the creation of Rine Temperance Clubs for the county; the Belleville club, under the presidency of Billa Flint, met every Monday evening.

Public support was also behind several other endeavours. In 1876, a well-attended meeting at the Grand Trunk Station reorganized the Belleville Mechanics Institute, which had ceased operations in the 1860's. A library, reading room, and small gym were soon provided for its two hundred members. Lecture series were sponsored on topics from ancient history to phrenology, the "science" of judging a person's intelligence and character by the shape of his head. In 1876, a grand concert opened the Odd Fellows Hall at Belleville. Less successful was the attempt by the Marchison Club in 1877 to establish a local museum for county residents.

Perhaps even more significant than these attempts to "improve" the people of Hastings County were certain other educational events. In 1866, Albert College was given the power to grant the B.A. and M.A. degrees. the college's standards to be as near as possible to those of the University of Toronto. Reverend Albert Carman was the first principal of Albert College and guided the young institution until his appointment in 1874 as bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. Many prominent Canadians received their university education at the college, among them three distinguished politicians: John Howatt Bell, prime minister of Prince Edward Island from 1919 to 1923; Sir Rodmund Roblin, prime minister of Manitoba from 1900 to 1915; and Sir George William Ross, prime minister of Ontario from 1899 to 1905. Another Albert College graduate was Francis Walter Merchant, director of education for Ontario and author of several high school physics texts. Herbert Fairbairn Gardiner, principal of the Ontario School for the Blind at Brantford from 1903 to 1916 and author of *Nothing But Names* (a book explaining how Ontario's counties and townships were named) received his degree at Albert College in 1869. Perhaps the most prominent family associated with the college was that of John Macoun. A self-taught botanist, John Macoun was appointed professor of botany and geology at Albert College in 1868. Later, he made an outstanding contribution to the government's knowledge of the Canadian Northwest. Two sons, James Melville and William Tyrrell, were educated at the college. The former became an authority on Canadian birds and was in charge of the biological

division of the Geological Survey of Canada, while the latter became do-
minion horticulturist. Other graduates included Ezekiel Stone Wiggins,
who earned a wide reputation as a prophet of the weather, Arctic explor-
er Lachlan Taylor Burwash, and Benjamin Fish Austin, an author and
pastor of spiritualist churches in the United States following his expulsion
from the Methodist Church. After the union of Methodists in 1884, Albert
College's degree-granting power was transferred to Victoria University
at Cobourg and later to the University of Toronto.

The establishment of the Ontario Business College in 1868 was
another important educational milestone. Samuel G. Beatty and George
Wallbridge were the founders, and the school soon attracted students
from all parts of eastern Canada, the United States, and the West Indies.

Ontario School for the Deaf at Belleville, 1874.

On August 20, 1870, the Ontario School for the Deaf was officially
opened at Belleville, marking the beginning of a very significant chapter
in Ontario's educational history. Although the school began with only
three students in attendance, the enrolment reached seventy at the end
of the first session, and in 1873 the first of several building extensions
took place.

Improvement was not confined to cultural activities. The last decades
of the nineteenth century witnessed a peak for gentlemanly sports. Boating
and yachting were widely approved, respectable hobbies; they were
made even more pleasant when, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's
Diamond Jubilee, Belleville City Council created a waterfront park
named after the monarch. Regattas on the Bay of Quinte and excursions
to Twelve O'Clock Point, Massassauga Park, or Lake-on-the-Mountain
were the order of the day. Ashore, although "Bass-Ball" was gaining a
following, cricket was the approved sport. To celebrate the tenth anni-

versary of Confederation, a picnic and Caledonian games were held at Massassauga Point; the highlight was the cricket match in which the Belleville club defeated St. George's of Montreal by eight wickets, the final score being St. George's 30 and 28, Belleville 78 and 30.

The Belleville General Hospital at the turn of the century. The decision to erect the hospital followed a serious train accident in 1872, which showed the need for a medical centre.

The opera house was a feature of every respectable county town. The Belleville Opera House, fitted up in the style of Toronto's Grand Opera House, opened in 1877. Accommodating 1,000 persons, the two-storey building stood diagonally across from the present Corby Library. Smaller and less elaborate opera houses graced the smaller county towns.

The late Victorians were concerned about godliness. The churches grew in memberships and financial support. Some of the finest church structures were erected during the late nineteenth century.

Cleanliness and convenience were next to godliness in the eyes of the late Victorians. The Belleville Waterworks was constructed in 1886-87 and operated as a private enterprise until its purchase by the city for $184,000 in 1889. At that time, there were 1,000 users and 70 fire hydrants. Other services provided by private owners, with the support of city council, were the telephone, electricity, and a street railway. Although Belleville had played a role in the development of the telephone, inasmuch as the infant telephone was tested in 1877 between the Ontario School for the Deaf and Picton, the first commercial telephones were not leased by the Bell Telephone Company until January, 1880. From 29 subscribers in 1883, the service grew to 1,000 in 1915. Originally the telephone exchange was open fourteen hours a day, except for Sundays when service was limited to two hours in the afternoon. According to Belleville historian W. C. Mikel, on Sunday evenings the operators along the lines entertained each other over the wires by songs, banjo and guitar.

Two years after the telephone system was established, the Belleville Electric Company was incorporated to provide electricity for arc lamps, with which the city was replacing the old gas lights. Unfortunately, the telephone and electric companies found co-existence difficult in these early days, and in 1886 the Bell Telephone Company took the electric company to court, the charge being that the electrical lines interfered with

the safe and efficient working of the telephone system. Safe and im-
proved services followed the court hearing, and by 1896 the Trenton
Electric and Water Company took over the distribution of electricity for
incadescent lamps in both businesses and homes. Power for the system
came from water generators north of Trenton on the Trent and from a
steam generator built at Belleville in the 1890's. This steam generator
plant on Reid Street also supplied electricity for an electric railway after
1894. Operating on Front Street and Station Street between the harbour
and the Grand Trunk Station, this electric railway was the descendant
of a horse drawn line which operated in the 1870's.
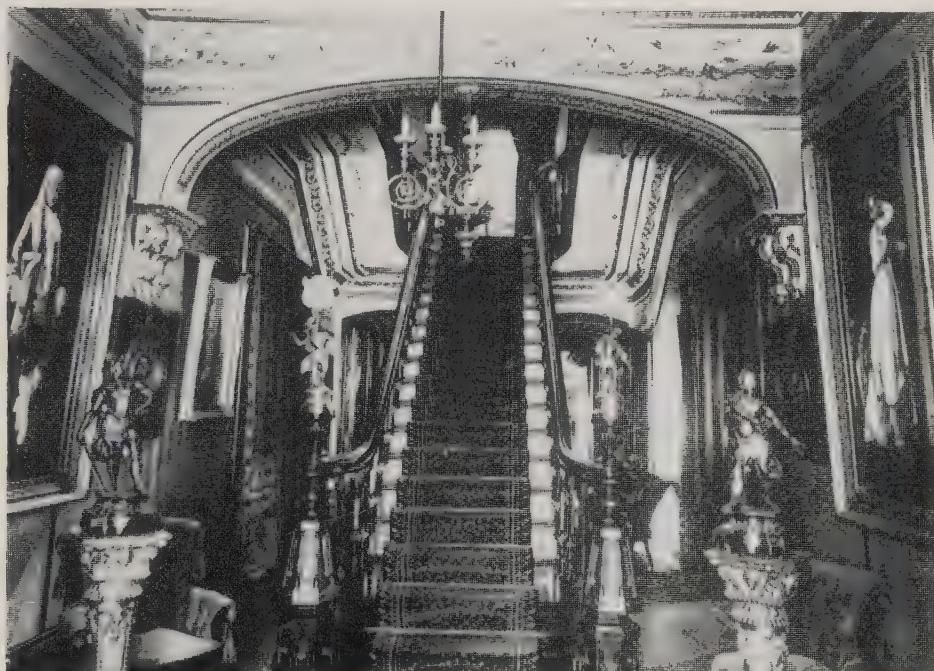
Nineteenth century view of the Phillips-Burrows-Faulkner House in east Belleville, showing
the entrance hall and main staircase. Built in 1882 by a prominent banker this house shows
late Victorian taste.

A present reminder of late Victorian times is its architecture. Al-
though these years were not altogether prosperous, low labour costs and
skilled craftsmen meant that those families with money could build
exciting houses. This was the age of palatial mansions with mansard
roofs of coloured slate, elegant rooms decorated in the French style with
ornately carved and painted plaster ceilings, curved staircases of breath-
taking beauty, and billiard rooms whose walls were the finest examples
of the cabinetmaker's art. Built by prominent bankers and businessmen
at Belleville, Trenton, Madoc, and other centres, many of these family
homes survive, although each year more fall victim to the wrecker's
hammer.

This was also the golden era for tenement or row houses. As early as 1876, the Belleville Terrace, adjacent to the county court house, boasted of hot and cold running water to the second floor, bell-pulls, speaking tubes, and an attractive enclosing stone fence. The cost—only twelve thousand dollars for a row of six luxury tenements.

The late Victorian woman, although usually subservient to her husband, was coming more into her own in the late nineteenth century. In 1884, women property owners received the vote in city elections. Simultaneously, the Women's Christian Association of Belleville, then in its fifth year of existence, was proceeding with plans for the building of a hospital. The association had hoped that city council would undertake this necessary project. However, after the city "neglected and refused" to do this, the provincial government stepped in to reclaim land on Church Street earlier given to the city for hospital purposes. The land was then sold and the proceeds used to aid the Women's Christian Association.

SERVICE

On the Occasion of the Funeral
of Her Late Majesty . . . . . .

QUEEN VICTORIA,

Of Blessed and Glorious Memory,

❧ IN ❧

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH,

BELLEVILLE, ONTARIO,

Saturday, Feb. 2nd, 1901

❧ THE CONGREGATIONS OF ❧

EMMANUEL R. E. CHURCH,
BAPTIST CHURCH and
JOHN ST. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
❧ UNITING. ❧
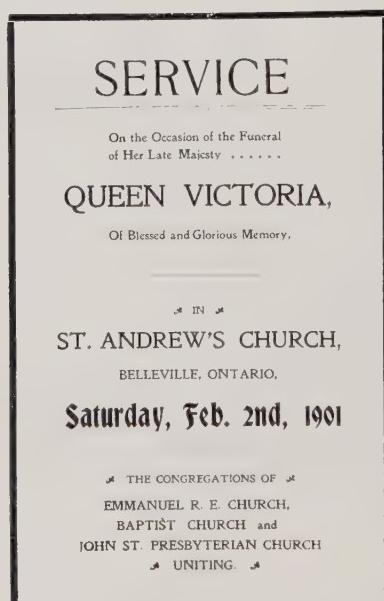
On January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died and the Victorian era officially came to an end. The county was in mourning for the queen who had ruled for sixty-four years and had won the respect and love of her subjects. Few of these could remember her coming to the throne in 1837, and most of them had lived a full life knowing no other ruler. Although the Victorian era officially had come to an end, its main characteristics such as dignity, respectability, sportsmanship, godliness, cleanliness, and gracious living would remain as twentieth century foundation stones for Hastings County.

Chapter 32

A Leader of Men

*The story of our most distinguished citizen who found
himself at last in a "nest of traitors"*

Probably no single person in Hastings County mourned the death
of Queen Victoria in 1901 more than Sir Mackenzie Bowell. As a native
of the British Isles, a staunch supporter of the St. George's Club, a
grand master of the Orange Association of British America for many
years, a leader in the movement in the 1890's to bring about closer ties
between Britain and her empire, and finally as the prime minister of
Canada from 1894 to 1896 (during which time he was knighted), Bow-
ell felt a great affection and respect for the ruler during whose reign
British enterprise and empire had expanded to the farthest corners of
the globe.
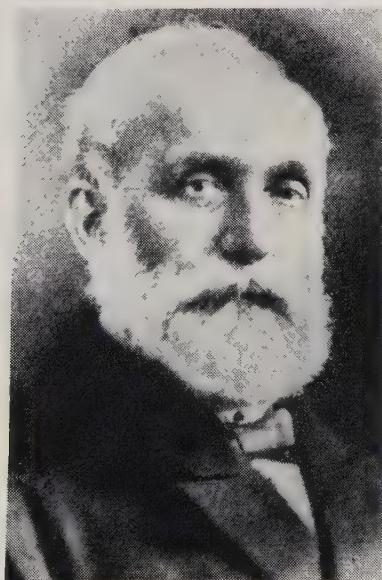
Sir Mackenzie Bowell

WANTED.

AN Intelligent lad as an Ap-
prentice at this Office.

Mackenzie Bowell probably answered
this advertisement in The Intelligencer,
October 11, 1834.

Mackenzie Bowell was born in Suffolk, England, on December 27,
1823. When he was ten, his family settled in the Belleville area, and in
1834 he became an apprentice or "printer's devil" in the office of a
newly founded newspaper, *The Intelligencer*. Because of his ability and
enthusiasm, he became editor and sole proprietor of this paper by 1850.
As editor, he championed the growth of Belleville and Hastings County.
He stressed the need for education as a key to development and served
on the local board of education for several years in the 1850's and 60's.

To promote the county, he published the first county directory in 1860-61, listing all the inhabitants by residence and occupation, and depicting the future of the county in somewhat glowing, though generally realistic, terms. In July, 1865, Mackenzie Bowell, Billa Flint, Henry Corby, and other leading businessmen organized the Belleville Board of Trade, re-named the Belleville Chamber of Commerce in 1919.

His first venture into politics was in the North Riding of Hastings in 1863. Although unsuccessful, he determined to contest the seat again in 1867 and was elected to the House of Commons for North Hastings, defeating T. C. Wallbridge by 292 votes. Bowell continued to represent North Hastings until 1892, the year he was appointed to the Senate.

Bowell attracted national attention in connection with the Metis insurrection in Manitoba in 1869-70. This upheaval centred about the attempts—legal and otherwise—by Louis Riel to win better terms for the inhabitants of the Red River area of the Hudson Bay's Company Territory, which was in the process of being annexed by Canada. Riel and his followers set up a provisional government to bargain with the Canadian government. However, Riel was guilty of a political error in executing, for insubordination, a supporter of Canadian annexation, Thomas Scott. Scott was an Irishman who had come to Hastings County

The execution at Fort Garry of Thomas Scott touched off anti-Catholic demonstrations in the county.

in the 1860's and had taken up farming and probably mining after 1866, since he is listed as living adjacent to the Richardson Gold Mine in 1869. He had served briefly with the Stirling Company of the Hastings Rifles where his commanding officer had described him as "the finest looking man in the battalion . . . about six feet two inches in height". Scott was also "an Orangeman loyal to the backbone". In 1869, he joined a Canadian government survey party heading for the Red River area. This party was under John A. Snow, a surveyor responsible in 1864 for the surveying of Wollaston Township and in 1866 for the commencement of the Monck Colonization Road in Hastings County. Scott's relations with
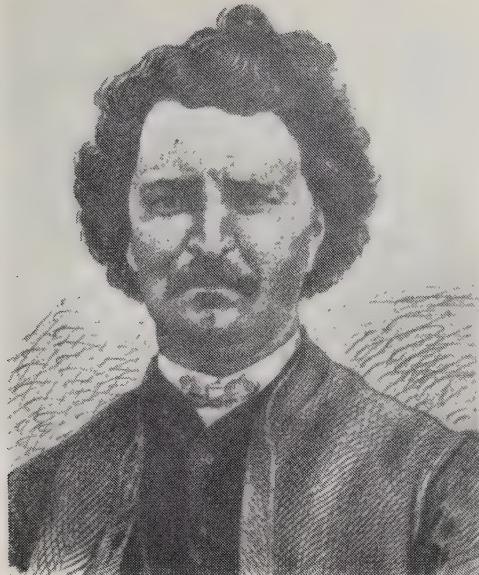
Louis Riel, expelled from the House of Commons as the result of a motion introduced by Mackenzie Bowell.

his employer show him to have been a somewhat reckless and stubborn man, since he led a workers' strike in July 1869 and at one point attempted to throw his employer into a river. This same attitude, on the part of Scott, irritated Louis Riel and led to his execution on March 4, 1870.

When word of the execution reached Ontario, there was a public outcry largely led by Scott's fellow Orangemen. Demonstrations were held at Cobourg and Belleville, and a wave of anti-Catholic feeling swept this part of Ontario. There were demands that Riel, a French-speaking Roman Catholic metis, should be brought to trial on a charge of murder. However, the Canadian government did not wish to encourage the agitation, and Riel was not brought to trial. Instead, the metis leader, seeking an amnesty for the events of 1869-70, entered politics and was elected to represent the Manitoba riding of Provencher in the House of Commons.

Riel's sudden appearance at Ottawa in April, 1874, to sign the Commons' membership book and his even more sudden disappearance (since he feared arrest) led Mackenzie Bowell to move that Riel should be expelled from the House of Commons. The motion was seconded by John Schultz, a friend of Thomas Scott, and passed by a majority of fifty-six, despite French-Canadian opposition. Thus Bowell took the lead in unseating Riel. Eleven years later, when Riel was brought before the courts in connection with his share in the 1885 North West Rebellion in Saskatchewan, Bowell's advice may have led John A. Macdonald to refuse to commute the death penalty.

In the mid seventies, a period when John A. Macdonald had been unseated by the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie as a result of the "Pacific Scandal", Mackenzie Bowell gained a prominent position in the Conservative party. He was an organizer of the Conservative Picnics of 1876 which are given considerable credit for the success of Macdonald

in the 1878 election. At these picnics Macdonald preached on the National Policy—the theme of protective tariffs, increased industry and immigration, and a transcontinental railway—as the remedy for the depression. Belleville's Picnic on September 12 provided the highlight of these Ontario picnics. Nearly fifteen thousand people turned out to welcome the Conservative leader and cheer him as his party moved to the fair grounds, passing along Front Street through the many gaily decorated arches that called upon the people to back Macdonald and bring back prosperity. Macdonald was elated.

"Our Dominion for Ever."
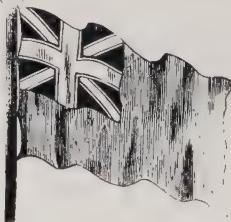
GRAND

Liberal Conservative Demonstration !

By the members of the Liberal Conservative Party of Canada, resident in the

BAY OF QUINTE DISTTICT,

In honor of the Visit to Belleville of

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, K.C.B., M.P.,
One of Her Majesty's Privy Councillors.
HONORABLE WILLIAM McDOUGALL, C.B., M. P. P.,
HONORABLE MATTHEW CROOKS CAMERON, M.P.P.,
HONORABLE T. N. GIBBS, M.P.,
W. H. GIBBS, Esq., M. P.
THOMAS WHITE, Jr. Esq., &c. &c.,

upon the Grounds of the West Hastings Agricultural Society,West Belleville, on

Tuesday, 12th Sept., 1876.

Broadside announcing the Liberal-Conservative Picnic in honour of John A. Macdonald.

Conservative success in the 1878 election led to Bowell's appointment to the cabinet as minister of customs, in which post he helped implement Macdonald's "National Policy" of increased tariffs to help Canadian industry. When Sir John A. Macdonald died in 1891, Bowell served in the cabinets of his successors, Sir John Abbott and Sir John Thompson. In 1893, he and Sir Sandford Fleming, the pioneer of the twenty-four-hour-a-day system of time reckoning, visited Australia to explore the possibilities of increasing Canadian trade; and a full scale conference was arranged for Ottawa the next year.

Sir John Thompson's death in 1894 stunned Canada and posed a leadership problem for the Conservative party. Lady Aberdeen, the wife

Residence of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, corner of Bridge and William Streets, Belleville, 1913.

of Governor-General Aberdeen, wrote in her diary: "There is absolutely no public man in his own party who is known at present who can hope to replace him . . . Mackenzie Bowell was only appointed acting premier in Sir John's absence quite in a temporary way." Although Lady Aberdeen described Bowell as "rather fussy, and decidedly commonplace", she also believed him to be "a good and straight man . . . (with) great ideas about the drawing together of the colonies and the Empire . . . "

Governor-General Aberdeen also was somewhat impressed by Mackenzie Bowell and discussed the matter with Sir Frank Smith, a Roman Catholic cabinet member from Ontario. Smith commented that Bowell, an Orangeman, "had been so careful that he had never offended a Roman Catholic". Aberdeen summoned Bowell and suggested that he consult his cabinet colleagues about whom they felt should be prime minister. Bowell refused, believing that this would lead to bickering and dissension among the Conservative leaders. Aberdeen then offered the position to Bowell, as the man most likely to be trusted and least likely to offend. Thus in 1894, at the age of seventy, when most men have sought rest in retirement, Mackenzie Bowell was summoned from his Senate seat and sworn in as Canada's fifth prime minister.

The new prime minister faced many problems. Supporters of rival candidates for leadership, especially Sir Charles Tupper, waited in the wings, ready to replace the chief actor on the Canadian political stage. From his seat in the Senate, Bowell was unable to give leadership to the House of Commons. A host of difficulties, many of them involving biculturalism, confronted him. Quebec seethed with resentment at Macdonald's failure to save Louis Riel, and support grew for the eloquent young Liberal orator, Wilfrid Laurier. To many French-Canadian Roman Catholics, this prime minister, a former head of the Orange Association and a bitter opponent of Riel, must have seemed a bigoted leader. Lady Aberdeen wrote of his inability to write letters, his failure to make up

his mind on certain questions, and his sense of importance: "He is altogether in the seventh heaven at being Premier and fancies that he can emulate Sir John A. Macdonald's genius in managing his party." Nevertheless, Bowell recognized his own shortcomings as a natural leader and did his utmost to put honour and the country's welfare above his personal religious and racial sympathies.
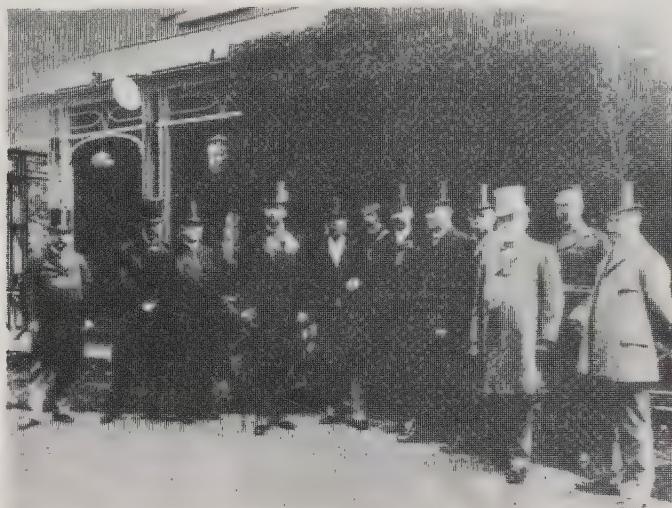
Reception to Governor-General Aberdeen (fourth from left) and Sir Mackenzie Bowell (third from right) at home of Thomas Ritchie, Belleville, 1894.

A major reason for Bowell's downfall was his failure to solve the Manitoba School Question, a question of financial support for Manitoba Roman Catholic separate schools being withdrawn by Liberal Premier Thomas Greenway's provincial government. Bowell introduced a bill in the federal parliament to restore the educational privileges of the Manitoba Catholics. However, this act of justice was opposed on one hand by the French Canadians who feared federal intervention in the field of education; and on the other hand by the Orangemen, who disliked Catholic separate schools. Unable to pull the diverse elements of his own party together, Bowell found himself faced with a cabinet rebellion. In January, 1896, about half of his cabinet walked out. Denouncing these conspirators as a "Nest of Traitors", Bowell tried to maintain control of the Conservative party, but his opponents forced him to step down in favour of Sir Charles Tupper, who was regarded as a better vote-getter in the next election. On April 27, 1896, Bowell resigned, and Tupper led the Conservative party in the election of 1896. The change of party leader did not ensure sucess, for Tupper was defeated by the Liberals under Wilfrid Laurier.

Bowell was chosen leader of the Opposition in the Senate, but he played only a minor part in politics after 1896. Ten years later, he retired to private life at Belleville where he died on December 10, 1917, just a few days before his ninety-fourth birthday.

Bowell's brief span as prime minister and his apparently austere, somewhat autocratic manner in the 1890's have led many historians and journalists to give him a small place among Canadian prime ministers. Bruce Hutchison speaks of him as a man "little qualified to be Prime Minister". Yet even Hutchison describes him as "a worthy loyal man", and other historians suggest that, had Bowell taken office in the prime of life before the Conservative party's decline after Macdonald's death, he might have become one of Canada's outstanding political leaders. In any event, Bowell was a man of steadfast character, courage, and integrity; and his achievements in journalism and in politics entitle him to be called a great Canadian.

Belleville's

WELCOME

To her distinguished Son.

MARCH 12TH, 1895.
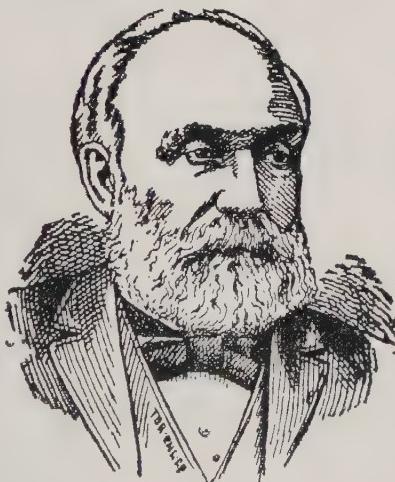
Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G.

From Belleville Schools

—TO—

PREMIERSHIP OF CANADA.

On March 12, 1895, the citizens of Hastings County honoured Sir Mackenzie Bowell, described by a reporter as "one of the best preserved men of his years in the Dominion."

Chapter 33

A Last Rebellion

"Had I been born on the banks of the Saskatchewan, I would myself have shouldered a musket to fight against the neglect of governments and the shameless greed of speculators."

(*Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1885*)

Canada's last great rebellion was the Northwest or Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885. It broke out in Saskatchewan because the metis (half-breeds) and some Indians justly feared the loss of their lands. Louis Riel was at the head of these metis and Indians who on March 26, 1885, attacked a troop of North West Mounted Police at Duck Lake.

Alarmed by this act of violence, the Canadian government immediately mobilized the permanent forces and militia units across the country. In eastern Ontario the government created the Midland Battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. H. Williams of Port Hope, to which each local regiment was to contribute a company. At 9:45 a.m. on Sunday, March 29, the fire alarm pealed from Belleville's market tower, calling the red coated troops to headquarters. Many county militia members offered to carry the obsolescent Snider-Enfield rifles with

Awaiting the return of the "Heroes of Batoche," Front street, Belleville, July, 1885.

which the militia units were equipped. The recruiting office was kept open all day. By evening an *Intelligencer* "Extra" was on the streets, and this was "greedily seized upon by an anxious crowd". At the evening service in Bridge Street Methodist Church, Reverend J. B. Clarkson read the paper from his pulpit.

Very early Monday morning, ninety-five volunteers from the Fifteenth Battalion (Belleville) of the Argyll Light Infantry and the Forty-ninth Battalion (Stirling) of the Hastings Rifles assembled at the armoury. By ten o'clock, when they lined up to march to the Grand Trunk station, the crowds of spectators were so dense that "traffic on the street was an impossibility". *The Intelligencer* reporter noted: "Every window along the line of march was full of faces, some sorrowful, but all admiring. Handkerchiefs were flying and hands were waving and from all quarters came words of good cheer. Every flag staff supported its bunt-

Soldiers from the Midland Battalion after their return to Hastings County from the Northwest Rebellion, 1885.

ing, while over the U.S. Consul's office the Stars and Stripes floated gaily to the breeze." Leading the local contingent was the Frankford band, playing "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and other appropriate numbers. At the station, the troops, under Captain Thomas Lazier and Captain Edward Harrison, discovered that the train was an hour late, and all had time to say a prolonged goodbye to families and friends.

After six days at Kingston, where they were organized into the Midland Battalion, the men left for the Northwest, travelling via the Kingston and Pembroke Railway (sometimes called the Kick and Push Railway) to Pembroke, and then by Canadian Pacific Railway. The Canadian Pacific had not yet completed its line, and north of Lake Superior the battalion had to march seventy-seven miles over packed ice and snow, blinded by snow storms and high winds.

Finally, on the morning of May 9, 1885, the First (Hastings) and the Third (Peterborough) companies of the Midland Battalion reached Batoche, where they took part in a decisive battle. The local forces performed extremely well under fire. Toward the end of the encounter, they charged the enemy's trenches. Said Colonel Williams:

"That flank movement entrusted to us was so rapidly and determinedly made that it is admitted that by it the tide of victory was turned. Amid a shower of lead from the front and left flank, the red line of the Midland pressed steadily on with British cheer and pluck, through the entangled brush on the river slope, until the proper time arrived for the rush across

the open prairie front to the houses, the capital of the rebels, a distance of about five hundred yds. The response to this was a noble one, and would have done credit to the most experienced soldiers, as amid a shower of bullets the charge was made and the cheers went up."

This advance was made without waiting for orders from the general, who, when he saw what Colonel Williams had accomplished by his charge, turned to someone near him and said: "D - - m them, but let them go, you can't stop them." The charge not only dislodged the enemy from their positions, but also led to the capture of Batoche and Louis Riel.

Local casualties were high, the wounded including Lieutenant J. Halliwell, Corporal E. A. E. Halliwell, and Corporal M. S. Daley. Colonel Williams, the battalion's commanding officer, died following Batoche and was buried with full military honours when the troops reached Port Hope. Here, the battalion was officially disbanded. The two Hastings County companies returned to Belleville where they were accorded a most enthusiastic reception on July 23, 1885, *The Intelligencer* reporting that the streets were decorated "on a scale never before known in Belleville."

So ended the Saskatchewan Rebellion, a segment of Canada's fascinating history in which our ancestors in Hastings County played an important role.

Although the Northwest Rebellion of 1885 was the last rebellion, county militia units continued to drill. At the turn of the century, about the time of the Boer War, this unit was photographed outside the old armouries at Belleville .The building, originally constructed as a town hall about 1850, served as an armouries and market. Later it was used as a police station.

Chapter **34**

A Little Learning

*"Under the present system, every idle ragged child
in the streets, by washing his face and hands, and pre-
senting himself to the free school of his ward, can
receive the same benefit as the rest."*

(Susanna Moodie, 1852).

Education has come a long way since pioneer days. Before 1800,
"if one could read, sign his own name, and cast (reckon) interest, it
was looked upon as quite sufficient". What additional education there
was in the typical Loyalist home probably resembled that of the early
resident who wrote that the knowledge he gained was from his mother
"who would, of an evening, relate events of the American rebellion, and
the happy lives people once led under British laws and protection pre-
vious to the outbreak".

The majority of the United Empire Loyalists who settled this area
are said to have "possessed but limited education" and many believed
that learning might have a "bad effect upon the young, disqualifying
them for the plain duties of husbandry" (farming). Also the sparse
settlement throughout most of the Quinte district made it difficult to form
good schools. The one exception was the village of Kingston where a
number of educated persons had settled, and an academy had been open-
ed in May, 1786, by Reverend John Stuart.

As settlement along the Bay of Quinte grew and life became more
complex, there was a greater demand for formal education. Unfortunately,
little is known about the first schools in the county and it is difficult
to say just who was the first local teacher. Possibly the honour went
to John Binninger, who was schoolmaster to the Mohawk Indians at
Tyendinaga from 1792 to 1795. Binninger's successor in 1796 was Wil-
liam Bell of Thurlow, a British soldier in the American Revolutionary
War who had come to Canada shortly after peace was declared, settling
near the mouth of the Moira River where he opened a store before 1790.
Both pioneer teachers were paid by an English missionary society to
carry on this work, Bell's salary being £30 a year in addition to a house.

Instructions issued to William Bell in 1796 were typical of those
given to other early teachers. Discipline was to be very strict, and he
was to see "that Prayers are read, night and morning, that the children
are taught the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments . . ."
Further, he was warned "that cattle may not be allowed to go into the
school". The cattle evidently were visitors after regular school hours.
In addition to instructing the pupils, Bell was also to see that the school
was kept clean, and that the wood belonging to it was not used outside
school hours. The room was not to be "a place of public resort".

The only regular school book used was the primer, which had been translated into the Mohawk language. On one occasion, Bell was supplied with only half a dozen of these books, which he professed himself "at a loss how to dispose of as by giving them to any particular children would affront others, and there is not enough for the whole children that I have reason to expect will come to school in the summer." The other important book in the school was the New Testament.

William Bell lived at a time when school attendance was not compulsory and he met a not uncommon fate. Attendance at the school fell off, and by 1802 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had been paying his salary, decided to discontinue the school, at least temporarily.

William Bell then returned to Meyers' Creek (Belleville), where he is said to have taught students at the back of his store. Another pioneer teacher was Reverend William Wright, a Presbyterian minister, who is reported to have kept a school in Belleville about 1805.

WANTED.

A SCHOOL TEACHER. The Trustees of School Division No. 8. 1st concession of Sidney, in the Victoria District, will pay a good Salary to a Competent Teacher of the English Language, and other branches usually taught in Common Schools.

None but a person of sober habits and good character need apply.

ELIJAH KETCHESON. ⎫
SIMEON OSTROM. ⎬ TRUSTEES.
HENRY JONES. ⎭

1st Concession of Sidney, March 6, 1827. 33w4

Qualified teachers were in short supply because of low salaries, little chance for advancement, non-existent training facilities, and a government policy which excluded schoolmasters from the United States, lest they should instil republicanism into the tender minds of the youth of the province. Also the idea of "setting apart for school teachers such members of the family as were physically incapable of doing hard manual labour, without any regard to their natural or acquired capabilities", did little to help the prestige of the pedagogue. Historian William Canniff noted that he had studied under one teacher whose sole qualification to teach consisted of his lameness.

Education took a major step forward in 1816 when the provincial parliament passed an act making it legal for the inhabitants of a village, town, or township to start "common" schools. Very limited provincial grants were available to school boards, provided the school section could promise at least twenty pupils and the local residents could obtain and help pay for a teacher (who must be a British subject). On October 17, 1816, the inhabitants of Belleville selected their board, and Henry H. Ansley was named master of the school on the west side of Pinnacle Street. This school and one in the first concession of Sidney Township,

which after about 1796 received pupils between Belleville and Trenton, were the only two common schools in the county in 1816-17. Between them they had about seventy students, who were instructed in literature, reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar.

Funds for the Belleville and Sidney Township schools were provided mainly by the scholars' parents, although some money also came from the Midland District Board of Education, established in 1816 at Kingston. This board kept a watchful eye on local proceedings, commenting in 1817 that the "use of Webster's Spelling Book and American Authors will have an injurious effect on the principles of the Pupils". The use of these American books was forbidden by the board; only British school books could be used.

What did the pupils in the early nineteenth century think of their schooling? Canniff Haight, who was educated in the Bay of Quinte area in the 1830's recalled his school days:

"I was sent to school early — more, I fancy, to get me out of the way for a good part of the day, than from any expectation that I would learn much. It took a long time to hammer the alphabet into my head. But if I was dull at school, I was noisy and mischievous enough at home, and very fond of tormenting my sisters. Hence, my parents— and no child ever had better ones—could not be blamed if they did send me to school for no other reason than to be rid of me.

"The school house was close at hand, and its aspect is deeply engraved in my memory. My first schoolmaster was an Englishman who had seen better days. He was a good scholar, I believe, but a poor teacher. The school house was a small square structure with low ceiling. In the centre of the room was a box stove, around which the long wooden benches without backs were ranged. Next the walls were the desks, raised a little from the floor . . .

"I was one of a little lot of urchins ranged daily on hard wooden seats, with our feet dangling in the air, for seven or eight hours a day. In such a plight we were expected to be very good children, to make no noise, and to learn our lessons . . . The terror of the rod was the only thing that could keep us still, and that often failed. Sometimes, tired and weary, we fell asleep and tumbled off the bench to be roused by the fall and the rod.

"In the winter time the small school room was filled to overflowing with the larger boys and girls. This did not improve our condition, for we were more closely packed together and were either shivering with the cold or being cooked with the red-hot stove."

Early education was intended more for boys than for girls, if we believe the eye-witness account of an immigrant to the county, William Hutton, who wrote in 1834: "The ladies are princesses in their dress, but I don't think much of their minds from what I have seen".

As though in answer to Hutton's complaints, four schools for young ladies were opened at Belleville within the next year. The first of these was the Private Seminary for Young Ladies:

"Mrs. Marshall and her sister, Miss Davidson, (the latter recently from Scotland), are now making arrangements to take under their care and superintendence the education of a few young ladies, the number not to exceed six or eight.

"They hope, by their assiduity and attention to the moral and religious improvement of the youth intrusted to their care, as well as to the useful and ornamental branches of education, to merit a share of the patronage of the parents and guardians of young Females.

"The house can be recommended as comfortable and . . . from its elevated and pleasant situation very favourable to health.—No day scholars will be admitted.

"The board, including Washing, and the plain branches of Education, namely Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography. History, Plain and Fancy Work.   £30 per annum

Music	5	do.
Drawing	5	do.
French	4	do.

"A master will attend for Writing and Arithmetic, and Miss Davidson will undertake all the higher branches. The School will open in October." (1834).

MRS. TILDESLEY'S SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

WILL open in Le Barge's Rooms, Dr. Lister's Stone building, on Wednesday the 12th inst. The TERMS include Instruction in every Branch of the English Language, Writing, and Arithmetic.

For Boarders per Quarter,	£8	0	0
Day Scholars,	2	0	0
Children under ten,	1	5	0
Music,	2	0	0
Dancing,	1	10	0
Drawing,	1	10	0
Italian,	1	10	0
French,	1	0	0

AN EXTRA CHARGE FOR WASHING.

EACH BOARDER TO BE PROVIDED WITH BED AND BEDDING, SIX TOWELS, A KNIFE AND FORK AND SPOON;

The TERMS must be paid Quarterly, and in advance, each Quarter consisting of Eleven Weeks, which begins when the Pupil enters.

A Quarter's notice is required previous to the removal of a Pupil.

Belleville May 8th 1847.   43

Young ladies attending Mrs. Tildesley's School in 1847 were supplied with bed and bedding, six towels, a knife, a fork, and a spoon, as well as instruction in English, writing, and arithmetic.

Another teacher, Miss Haskins, advertised flower drawing as well as French and fancy work; and Mrs. Thomas Campbell, the widow of the Anglican minister, opened her house to six young ladies in 1835.

Despite the creation of local school boards as early as 1816, public education received very limited financial help from the government until after 1841. In 1820, for example, £250 was the grant to be divided for

school purposes in the four Bay of Quinte counties. In 1831, there were only twelve common schools and one grammar school in the five counties of the Midland District. After the Victoria District was set up in 1838, a senior county grammar school was opened at Belleville and the number of common schools was slightly greater, but schools remained few until after the 1841 education reforms. In 1846, the present public school system was introduced, and primary education became free and compulsory for all.

Because of these reforms and the rapid increase in population, the school system took a great step forward. In 1845, there were already 56 common schools in the county, and four years later the number had increased to 113.

Common Schools in the Victoria District, 1847	Number of Schools in Operation	Legislative School Grant			Total Annual Salary of Teachers		
Townships							
Thurlow _____	19	£111	16	1	£780	10	0
Sidney _____	19	118	17	0	825	0	0
Madoc _____	8	38	9	5	243	10	0
Tyendinaga _____	22	138	19	4	732	10	0
Rawdon _____	12	62	0	5	463	10	0
Huntingdon _____	7	53	15	5	269	0	0
Hungerford _____	8	51	12	9	207	10	0
Marmora _____	4	14	3	8	58	10	0
Belleville (town) __	4	55	6	11	245	0	0
Elzevir _____							
Totals _____	103	£645	1	3	£3828	0	0

In 1850, there were 800 persons of school age in Belleville (of whom 584 attended the common schools) and the school board decided to build two new schools, instead of renting private houses for the purpose. Still, the education system caused complaints from some rich people, who felt the poor should pay for their own education, and from certain ministers who claimed the children would be infidels since no particular creed was taught in these schools.

After the grammar schools were brought into the system in 1853, a grammar and model school were opened at Madoc for the northern part of Hastings County. At Trenton, following its incorporation as a village in 1853, council approved the borrowing of £1000 to build a grammar school and two common schools. Among the early principals of the Trenton senior school was Dr. Adam Henry White (1846-1930) who came in 1866. He later wrote:

"The trustees had appointed me without seeing me, and when I arrived in town I was considered as a sort of a joke. Although I was nearly twenty-one years of age . . . I looked about sixteen. Many of the boy pupils

were big fellows, much bigger than myself and said to be hard to manage. Many of the girls were grown up, and very good-looking, which latter fact caused me considerable embarrassment. The general opinion was that I couldn't even begin to control my pupils, and that I wouldn't last a week."

Teachers in rural parts of the county had many problems. In 1839, (Reverend) James Gardiner decided to organize and teach a school in Sidney Township, where three or four school-houses were vacant. Since there was neither superintendent nor trustee to act for the parents and patrons, Gardiner had to call his own meeting of interested patrons. Receiving some support, he opened his school in the Bonisteel log school, which he described as "an old shack". He "boarded around" among the

VICTORIA DISTRICT
GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
THE above institution will re-open on Tuesday 7th January.
TERMS.

English,	£ 0	10	0
With Writing & Arithmatic	0	15	0
English Grammar, History, & Geography	0	17	6
Greek & Lattin,	1	5	0

No deduction made for absence except in case of protracted sickness.

A. BURDON.

Belleville 3rd Jany. 1845.

CHEAP TUITION
—o—
THE subscriber having engaged School Section No. 5. at Canniff's Mills in the Victoria District, begs leave to inform the inhabitants of that Village and the surrounding neighborhood that he proposes to teach all the usual English Branches to the highest perfection on the following terms.

Those belonging to said section, 8s. 9d. per Quarter Public Money deducted. Those belonging to other Sections 5s., and any Parent or Guardian sending four pupils, shall have one free, but no deduction for non-attendance.

His success as a Teacher at Canniff's Mills is too well known to need any reference, and his qualifications are indisputable having a General Certificate from the District Superintendent.

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

Canniff's Mills, Aug. 24th, 1848.   2

patrons, spending at least one night in a "trundle-bed". Gardiner wrote: "The school prospered—I was really happy in my work. The Patrons paid promptly and my income would not suffer by comparison with those of the present day (1897) in similar cases. Some people expected the school kept open six days in the week and eight hours in the day . . . I undertook to teach and required good manners." Within a year, Gardiner moved his school to the Harder school-house, which was enlarged to accommodate the increased enrolment. At Christmas time, it was agreed to have a ten-day vacation; however, the teacher received no salary when no teaching was done.

The reminiscences of John Metcalfe Willson shed an interesting light on education a century ago. In 1863, Willson graduated from the Thomasburg Common School and began "grinding up" for the teacher examinations conducted by the Hastings County Board of Public Instruction. These examinations were held at Madoc in August, 1863, and Willson was very successful, obtaining a first class certificate despite his youthful sixteen years.

The Marble School at Actinolite (Bridgewater), circa 1890, showing Senator Billa Flint (white beard) and James Mairs. Two walls of the school were of field stone; however the two sides visible from the main highway were of white marble.

"Subsequently, I went in search of a school. The first attempt was for what is, or was called "Bird's School", situated a mile or so s. east of the village of Stoco, Hungerford, on the east side of the river. Rev. Mr. Fleming (of Roslin) suggested that school to me as that would likely be a very good school for a new hand to commence with."

Unfortunately, his youthful appearance and the trustees' fear that he might not be able to manage "some rough boys who attended during the winter" led to his application being turned down. Undaunted, Willson then engaged to teach at "Gray's School", sometimes called "Gibson's" (S.S. 23 in Tyendinaga Township) for twelve dollars a month and board, this position to begin January, 1864. Willson found "Gray's School" at a "pretty low ebb; very few being beyond the Simple Rules of Mathematics". He taught there for two years and seven months, and earned "a pretty good reputation as a teacher", but "the charms of teaching . . . began to wear away. The dull routine of school business seemed to grow more monotonous", and for a time he thought of leaving teaching. However, he moved to Ryan's School, S.S. 4, West Huntingdon, where he taught for only a few days in September, 1866. Then loneliness set in and he looked for a school further south in the county.

Willson's next school was the Lower Mohawk School, S.S. 25 on the Tyendinaga Reserve. He received $132 a term and obtained board with a Mohawk family at five dollars per month. "There had been no school for some months," he wrote, and "the school room looked more like an appurtenance to a barn etc., there being some corn-stalks in it; two substitutes for maps were all, with the exception of some torn papers containing scriptural sentences that were pasted on the wall from time immemorial, that served to vary the bleary blankness of the wall." That winter the seats were remodelled and the room was considerably improved. The

following year, Willson moved to S.S. 23 in Tyendinaga where, despite his attempt to improve the citizenry by organizing a Debating School, "the school room seemed a prison, the neighbourhood a wilderness, and could I have done so profitably I would have given the thing up." This lament was repeated later when Willson wrote: "I possessed talents which could they have been improved by the means which wealth holds at its disposal, sufficient to have fitted me to shine pre-eminently as a scholar; but the gold opportunities of youth are fast passing away . . . My heart was never completely in my profession . . ." Nevertheless, Willson did achieve a good reputation as a teacher and did seem to find some enjoyment in it, despite his frequent laments. He took delight in the social life in all its aspects, his only complaint being the abundance of "slang" in conversation.

Belleville High School, 1880's.

Willson was a typical teacher in many ways. Like most young teachers, he was frequently discouraged, lamented the poor working conditions and the lack of interest on the part of students and their parents, and moved frequently. Like most other early teachers, Willson performed a real service to the community in conditions very remote from today's schools.

The parents who financed the early schools, the students who suffered through them, and the teachers who conducted them were all subject to the scrutiny of the school inspectors. In 1860, education in Hastings County was under the watchful eyes of two inspectors or superintendents—G. Mowat in North Hastings, and F. H. Rous in South Hastings. In his report to Hastings County Council for the school year 1859-1860, Mr. Mowat wrote:

"The present backward condition of our Schools and all the impediments which obstruct their future progress; can be traced in every instance to one or other of these two causes viz—*The lowness of the Teacher's Salary and the too frequent change of Teachers.* Only think of Teachers remaining but Four months and a half, on an average in the same Schools, as was the case in this Riding during the past year! Who can accomplish anything great in the short space of four & a half

months? And, who cares to try? The teacher feels but little interest in the section, or even in the children placed under his care. He knows that his connection with either must be brief, and contents himself with getting along as quietly and as easily as possible.

"We cannot, in the present day at least, expect to find men of talents, and energy, engage in the profession either from motives of philanthropy or devotion to the cause, and should one of that class, pressed by hard necessity happen to join the ranks, he is sure to desert, at the first favourable opportunity."
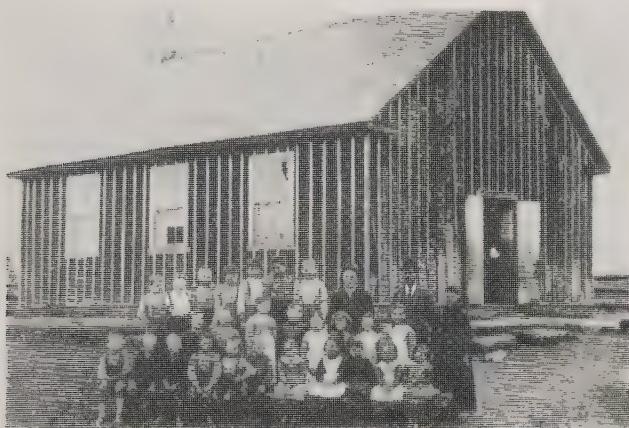
Carlow Township School, circa 1891.

Nonetheless, there was progress taking place in the seventy common schools in North Hastings. One of these forward steps was the organization of teachers' conventions. A second was the setting up of a Board of Examiners in North Hastings to examine prospective teachers; it was before this board at Madoc that teachers such as John Willson appeared.

Just what did a school inspector or superintendent in 1860 do for his salary, other than report to Hastings County Council? Consider Superintendent Mowat's report:

"I have no desire to parade either myself or my services before the public, but as the question — What has the Superintendent of North Hastings, to do for his Salary? is often asked by those who may have a right to know, I take the liberty of stating some part of his duties.— He has to visit 70 or more schools during the year two times and in doing so has to travel a distance of at least 1200 miles, over very bad roads, *or no roads at all.*—has to meet the Board in Belleville 8 times a year, causing a travel of about 400 miles;—has to transmit to the various Sections 210 Reports — and examine them when returned; — has to answer about 300 letters during the year, and pay his own postage on all that he sends and many that he receives;—has to advise in cases of dispute—attend arbitrations, and sign awards, even at the risk of having an action at law brought against him for doing so; — has to examine all

applicants for special Certificates; — to prepare questions for Examinations when required by the Board to do so; — to prepare from the most contradictory, and heterogeneous materials,—(the Reports of Trustees)—a Report to the Chief Superintendent, embracing answers to about 14,000 questions, with other duties "too numerous to mention".

Similar sentiments were voiced by the Inspector of Schools for South Hastings, Frederick Rous, who noted that in connection with the School Returns, he had "examined and corrected upwards of 3000 columns of statistics, including a mass of nearly 100,000 figures". Fortunately, Rous also found much to praise in the school system. He noted a decided improvement in reading and spelling. The teacher at Shannonville, Mr. Gould, was commended for having prepared five or six scholars who were perfect in the spelling of all the words in the Third National Reader. Mr. Reynolds of S.S. 20, Tyendinaga, and Mr. Huffman at S.S. 9, Thurlow, had also prepared their students well in spelling. For excellence in arithmetic, geography, history, and science, two schools in Sidney Township stood out very conspicuously—S.S. 7 taught by Barton Gilbert, and S.S. 4 taught by J. Johnston. Also in these schools and certain other schools, singing had been very successfully taught. Other good schools in South Hastings were said to be those at Frankford, Cannifton, Smithville (Foxboro), Roslin, and Lonsdale, as well as School Sections 16 and 18 in Sidney and 4, 6, and 10 in Tyendinaga.

Mr. Rous concluded his report for 1859-60:

Marmora Public School, October 20, 1892.

William Mackintosh, public school inspector for north Hastings, described (1875) a new log school erected by the settlers in School Section 5, Bangor Township. Mackintosh reached the school after travelling 125 miles by the Opeongo Colonization Road and the waterways. "With the exception of the door, window sashes, and teacher's desk," he wrote "the whole ·owes its construction to the chopping and broad axe. Floor, benches, and desks are made of planks hewn from logs. The interior I found scrupulously clean and ornamented with spruce branches. The windows, not extensive affairs, were provided with curtains formed from newspapers — which in every part of the province is a certain indication of a lady teacher . . . Much of its success is due to the perseverance and intelligence of a few of the settlers. Mr. Whalen, the tavernkeeper, never loses a fitting opportunity for pressing the claims of the school upon his guests." As a result, wrote Mr. Mackintosh, the sixteen pupils, about half Protestant and half Roman Catholic, were enjoying the use of maps, tablet reading lessons, and other equipment. The students were rewarded with prizes for good work; and when they sang "Oh So Bright" and "Marching Along", the lady teacher accompanied them on the concertina.
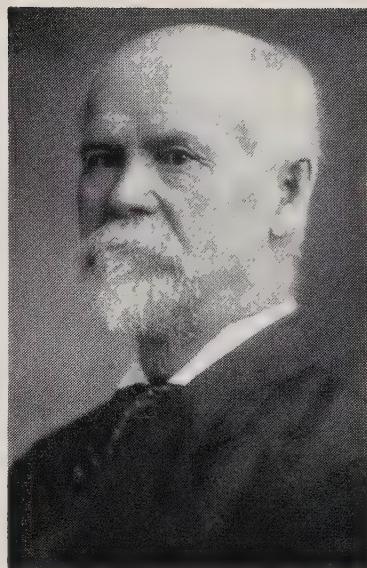
"Indeed the Teachers as a body, in the South Riding, appear to me deserving of commendation as laborious & conscientious in the discharge of their duties. It is however a fact that many of them have had but few advantages in the way of preparatory training. Where Teachers have had the privilege of two or three Sessions at the Toronto Normal School—at the Belleville Seminary (Albert College) or at some similar Institution, the benefits are generally strikingly evidenced in the more thorough, systematic instruction and rapid progress of their Scholars—If these qualifications can become more common—if the weaker school sections can be enlarged & strengthened—above all, if the public interest in the prosperity of our Common Schools continues to grow stronger & deeper, we may hope that the beneficial results flowing from our really good system of National Education, will, from year to year, be more gratifying, more enlarged, and more enduring."

A century has passed since those words were written. Education has progressed since that time. However, the hopes for the future of education expressed in 1860 are not unlike our own hopes in the 1960's. His words offer us a challenge for the next century.

Chapter 35

Out with the Devil

"About the only people who don't quarrel over religion are the people who haven't any."

(Robert C. Edwards)

Religion occupied an important place in the life of the pioneer. As he faced the hostile wilderness, the Bible was one of his chief comforts, and God seemed very near.

The ministers of the church were not always as readily available. For some years, the closest minister was Reverend John Langhorn, who had settled about 1790 at the site of the village of Bath in Lennox and Addington County. Provincial law said that only the Anglican ministers could conduct marriage services. Therefore Reverend Langhorn married many couples from Hastings County. Since he would perform marriages only in his church at Bath and always before eleven in the morning, some couples were inconvenienced. More than one wedding party, arriving at the church after the deadline, had to wait until the next morning for the ceremony.

The Anglican Church (or Church of England) enjoyed a privileged position in Upper Canada after 1791. In addition to controlling the marriage rites, the Anglican Church had the use of the income from large sections of land called clergy reserves. The extension of the right to solemnize marriages to Lutheran and Presbyterian ministers in 1798 had little local impact, since there were few ministers of these denominations in the province.

In 1818, the Anglicans at Belleville decided to build their own church for the purpose of "promoting morality in the County of Hastings and Ameliasburg . . ." On behalf of Captain John W. Meyers, Captain Thomas Coleman, and other Anglicans, James McNabb petitioned the government for assistance. Specifically, McNabb asked for permission to build a church upon the ground reserved for such purposes by the Executive Council in 1816 when the village site was surveyed, and for permission to open a subscription fund at York, Kingston and Belleville to obtain funds for the project. The provincial government agreed, and the church was commenced in 1819 and finished next year; it was the first Anglican Church erected west of Adolphustown. Reverend Thomas Campbell was the first minister and continued in charge until his death in 1835. During the building of the church, Reverend Campell was said to have entered the edifice and climbed up a ladder to the pulpit. Immediately one of the workmen removed the ladder, leaving the minister a prisoner in his pulpit. He was released only after he had sent a messenger to his home for a certain beverage.

Reverend Campbell took an active role in the community. As noted

elsewhere, he was responsible for improving the education and transportation facilities in the county. Much of his own income was spent improving the church and parsonage grounds and encouraging a church at the front of Sidney between Belleville and Trenton. For a time he held services there every second Sabbath, but the congregation was never large. Methodism seemed to have more appeal for the people.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century, itinerant Methodist preachers began to visit this area. Healy and Puffer preached at Colonel William Bell's at Thurlow. Reverend Darius Dunham preached at Meyers' Creek in 1795, and a Methodist class was organized by 1815 under John Reynolds. Since the Methodists could not hold land until 1828, the first Methodist chapels were built on private land. At Belleville, for example, after attempts in 1817 to have a section of land granted to the society had failed, a chapel was built about 1818 on land owned by William Ross. The chapel was described as a "little rough, frame building, its interior uninviting as its exterior—no pews, merely cedar blocks and unplaned planks nailed on them; the bench used by the carpenters while building the church served as the pulpit, and 'tallow dips' were used for illuminating purposes". This 50 by 30 foot frame building served its purpose well, until a second chapel was commenced in 1831.

Most of the early Methodist preachers belonged to the American Methodist Church, although the British Wesleyans entered the province after 1814. In 1821, there was a division of labour, the British Wesleyans restricting their activities to Lower Canada (Quebec) and the district garrison town, Kingston, while the American Methodists were left the balance of Upper Canada. In 1824, the Upper Canadian Methodists separated from the Genesee Conference and became a distinct conference, affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States.

The remaining American connection was opposed by many Methodists, among them Reverend Henry Ryan, an Irishman, who, with Reverend William Case, ministered to Methodists on the Bay of Quinte circuit from 1805 to 1815. In 1824, Ryan set up a clamour for the independence of the Canadian Methodists; much of his support came from the Bay of Quinte area. In 1829, he arranged the first conference of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church. The American conference, pressured by Ryan's withdrawal and the promise that the Canadian church would follow the discipline of the American church, agreed to this independence.

The press did not treat all Methodist ministers with the same respect accorded to ministers today. On July 18, 1829, the Kingston paper reported: "We are requested to say, the Rev. Lorenzo Dow (commonly called Crazy Dow) will preach at Belleville on Tuesday next at 11 o'clock . . ."

The Baptists were among the first denominations in Hastings County. A considerable number settled near Foxboro in Thurlow Township and erected the first Baptist chapel on the fifth concession. The local minister was Elder Turner, who, before the building of the small frame church,

is said to have preached at Captain McIntosh's at Meyers' Creek as well as Gilbert's house in Sidney and Colonel Bell's in Thurlow.

Joseph Leavens was a preacher of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers. He preached in the loft of his brother's store in Belleville and at other places throughout the county until his death in 1844 (age 91). The Quakers were not as successful in Hastings County as they were in Prince Edward County, which for many years was a Canadian centre for various Quaker groups.

The pioneer of the Roman Catholic Church in Hastings County was Reverend Alexander McDonnell (1762-1842), first Roman Catholic bishop in Upper Canada. On a trip from York to Kingston about 1806, he celebrated mass near Belleville at the house of a relative, Archibald Chisholm. Reverend McDonnell championed the Roman Catholic Church in the Bay of Quinte region at a time when that denomination was regarded unfavourably by the British government. In 1821, he supported sixty-five county residents who petitioned the government to have "religious toleration extended to all denominations" and to have a grant of land "as will suffice for the erection of a chapel". The result was the grant of land now occupied by St. Michael's Church at Belleville.

Ruins of the first Roman Catholic Church at Marmora
erected before 1830.

Marmora was the site of another pioneer Roman Catholic church. In 1823, Charles Hayes, the proprietor of the Marmora Iron Works, set aside ten acres of the best land in the neighbourhood for the support of a church. The sum of £120 was raised by public subscription, and in 1829 a small church was erected, not on Hayes' grant, but rather on a small "unimportant" spot of one acre. Unfortunately, title to this new land was not clear, and when the iron works were sold in 1831 the new owner's agent tried to take possession of the church. A legal dispute
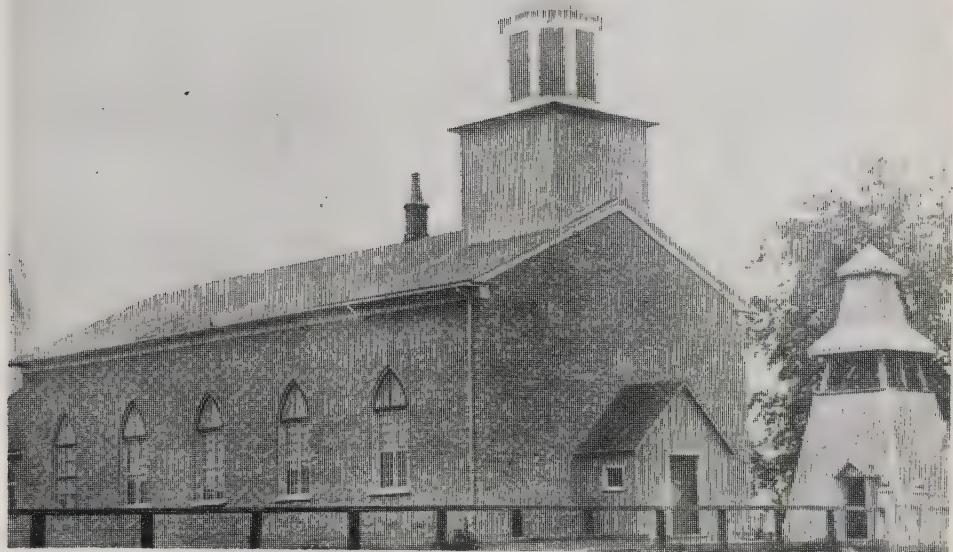
Marysville Roman Catholic Church (erected 1837), now used as the parish hall.

followed, the church was restored to the faithful flock, and the agent was bound over for twelve months for good behaviour.

Early religious groups were very jealous of each other's possessions. Consider the Presbyterians at Belleville, who in 1822 asked for a provincial land grant for a church and burying ground. The government granted them a one-half acre lot on Church Street, only to have the Scotch congregation return the following January asking for an additional lot. Their argument was that the Roman Catholics had recently received two lots amounting to one acre, twice as much land as the Presbyterians had received. The Presbyterians received their extra lot. About 1830, a small frame church was erected on this land, and on November 6, 1831, Reverend James Ketcham was inducted as the first minister. He had been sent from Scotland by the Glasgow Colonial Society to take charge of the local congregation.

In August, 1833, the Presbyterian Church of the United States began to labour in the local vineyard. Lengthy meetings in Sidney Township led to the formation in 1835 of a new congregation consisting of about thirty members.

Co-operation among the Protestant denominations in the early nineteenth century was the exception, rather than the rule. A notable exception was the formation on February 10, 1819, of the Belleville Branch of the Upper Canada Bible Society. Reverend William Case was the speaker, and James McNabb was chairman of the meeting, which elected Methodist John Reynolds as president. A subscription was immediately opened, and £16.19s.2d. was collected. Within a short time, an additional £20 was collected in Sidney and Rawdon townships to help spread the gospel.

A feature of early religion, usually associated with the Methodists, was the camp-meeting. The first camp-meeting in Canada was held in 1805 on the south shore of Hay Bay. Case, Ryan, and other Methodist preachers attended, and the meeting had a tremendous impact on those present. "As the hosts marched off in different directions the songs of victory rolled along the highways." Other camp-meetings followed. A favourite site was a large plain in Thurlow Township, west of Shannonville. Large booths of tree boughs sheltered the worshippers, and rough slabs of wood served as pulpits. According to Susanna Moodie, most of the tents "exhibited some extraordinary scene of fanaticism and religious enthusiasm; the noise and confusion were deafening. Men were preaching at the very top of their voice; women were shrieking and groaning, beating their breasts and tearing their hair, while others were uttering the most frantic cries, which they called *ejaculatory* prayers."
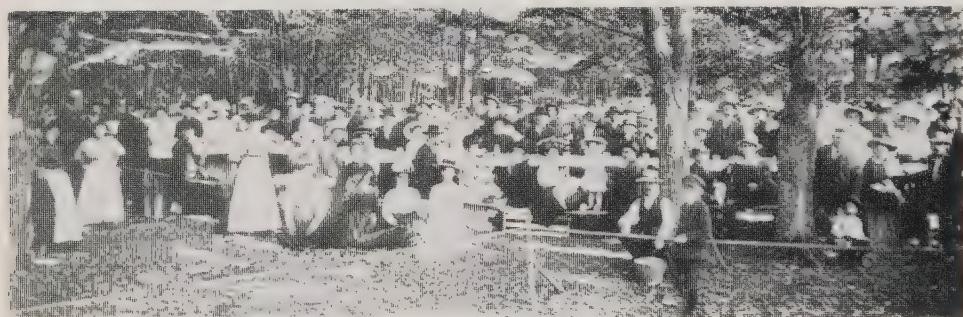
White Church Picnic, Monteagle Township, 1900.

Religious enthusiasm was not confined to camp-meetings. In April, 1835, a local school teacher wrote: "God has by his spirit been at work in Belleville. Oh! How pleasant, how blessed to meet with them in the room adjacent my school room and hear them speaking forth the praises of their Saviour . . . It is like a little Heaven below . . . It almost seemed at times that Belleville began to rock from centre to circumference as Jesus Christ was riding through in his chariot of Salvation." At Frankford, in 1840, a Christmas-eve watch-night service was described by Reverend James Gardiner: "The meeting was opened about 7 o'clock and continued until after the time of the singing of the heavenly host. 'Glory to God in the Highest'. We all joined devoutly in that song that Christmas morning. It was said to have been a great meeting — doing much good."

Farther north in the county, the Anglican Church was launching an intensive missionary crusade. In 1838, Reverend W. S. F. Harper was appointed a "Travelling Missionary" to visit the remote families of the district. He wrote: "I made a Missionary excursion into the townships of Marmora, Madoc, Huntingdon, and Hungerford, performed Divine Service at several different places in each of them, and baptized six children. The attendance everywhere was good, and refreshing indeed was the

manner in which these simple but well meaning people greeted my return among them. So rejoiced did many of them appear, and so anxious to improve the opportunity afforded them that several accompanied me on foot to the different stations where duty called me, regardless of the toils of the way, the excessive heat, and the innumerable swarms of flies and mosquitoes which, in the back settlements, are at this particular season (June) almost intolerable. Such little incidents as these surely more than repay the perplexities and toils to which the Missionary is naturally subjected . . ." Harper's efforts met with some success in preserving a place for the Anglican Church in the face of Roman Catholic and Methodist missionary efforts.

The Anglican Church at Marmora, 1909. Similar views were favourite subjects for postcards, and the early 1900's witnessed a craze of postcard collecting.

Among the prominent Methodist missionary ventures of the early nineteenth century was the attempt to convert the Mississauga Indians. In 1825, Peter Jones, a Mohawk who had been converted to Methodism at Grand River, visited Belleville. His simple, eloquent preaching reached the hearts of the Mississauga Indians. Reverend William Case, sometimes called the "Father of Canadian Missions," then decided to settle the Mississaugas on a reserve near Belleville, to teach them the "quiet pursuits of agriculture," and to instruct the children in both religious and secular education. In 1826, Grape Island was selected as the centre for this Bay of Quinte mission.

Reverend Egerton Ryerson, the founder of the modern school system in Ontario, was another Methodist leader responsible for the Grape Island missionary venture. Ryerson had encouraged Peter Jones to come to the Bay of Quinte to preach to the Indians. It was Ryerson's hope that Jones

could teach them enough English so that they could receive religious in-
struction in that language. Ryerson rejoiced at the changes brought about
by the experiment: "Now in their whole tribe, numbering about 200,
there is not one drunkard! They are becoming domesticated and are build-
ing a village on one of their islands in the Bay of Quinte, which they had
squandered away in their drunken revels . . ." During a two week period,
the Indians were said to have manufactured 172 axe handles, 57 ladles,
415 brooms, and other articles. However, Grape Island proved to be too
small for agricultural purposes, and the government turned over about
3,000 acres at Alnwick in Northumberland County to this tribe of Missis-
saugas. So ended the plans for a model Indian community at Grape Is-
land.

Early religion had little in common with the present Ecumenical
Movement aimed at closer co-operation between, and perhaps union of,
the various denominations. In the early 1800's, religious denominations
quarrelled bitterly with each other, and even within themselves. In 1826,
a fiery controversy raged in the Kingston press about the success of the
Anglican Church at Belleville. A Presbyterian declared that there were
only about fifty Anglicans in a total village population of over six hundred,
that there were only sixteen communicants the previous year, and that the
clergyman preached on Good Friday to a congregation of nine persons
(three of whom were Presbyterians). The Anglican minister replied that
his congregation averaged close to a hundred hearers and in fine weather
almost double that figure.

The Anglicans and Methodists then launched a battle in print. The
Methodists charged Anglican interference with the highly successful
weekly prayer meetings being held in the Pinnacle Street Methodist Cha-
pel. The Anglican minister was said to have almost immediately establish-
ed "a weekly Ball on the same evening as near to the Methodist chapel as
possible for the professed purpose of enticing the people away from the
place appointed for the worship of God". Although he was not named
directly in this attack, Reverend Campbell thought that it must refer to
him, since the article blamed the interference on "Rev. Mr. C. in the town
of B". The Anglicans retorted by labelling the writer of the attack, Rev-
erend Gilbert Miller, as a man possessed of an "envious and malignant
mind". However, rather than take Miller to court, the Anglicans left him
to "the stings of his own conscience, and the reprobation of an intelligent
public". As to the balls in question, the Anglicans explained, they had
been organized without the minister's knowledge, and it was only a co-
incidence that they were held near the Methodist Chapel on the prayer
meeting nights. Then the Anglicans publicly thanked Solicitor-General C.
A. Hagerman, a pillar of the Family Compact, for help in "procuring the
name of the libeller". Hagerman's attitude was typical of the Family Com-
pact's attempt to promote the Anglican Church as a state church. Lieu-
tenant-Governor Colborne attacked the Methodists for their American con-
nection and deplored their "officious interference" with the Indians, a

reference to the Grape Island Mission. Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle referred to the Methodists as "the peddling preachers from the go-ahead people". Bonnycastle wrote:

"The worst feature about Belleville in 1837 was that it was the focus of American saddle-bag preachers, teachers, and rebelliously disposed folks; but I am told that many of these uneasy loafers have left it, and that its character has improved wonderfully . . . It is surprising with what facility, in England, as well as in Canada, a saddle-bag doctor of divinity takes his degree . . ."

Egerton Ryerson stoutly defended the Methodists against the Anglican onslaught and showed his loyalty to the Crown by breaking with Mackenzie's Radicals before the 1837 Rebellion. However, the Methodists were weakened by internal rifts. After 1833, a bitter struggle between the Wesleyan and Episcopalian Methodists developed over the question of union and the ownership of the Pinnacle Street Chapel. A costly legal battle followed. The Wesleyan Methodists won, and John Reynolds and several others withdrew to establish a separate church.

The Intelligencer found itself squarely in the middle of these religious conflicts. In its first year of publication, under Orangeman George Benjamin, it bitterly attacked Reverend Michael Brennan, the Roman Catholic priest at Belleville, and Anthony Manahan of the Marmora Iron Works, whom it accused of favouring the Roman Church. The Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette* put a temporary end to the discussion when it explained that, whereas Manahan had given ten dollars to help build the Roman Catholic Church at Marmora, he had given twenty dollars to the Sidney Protestant church and had allowed the Anglican minister from Belleville to conduct worship services in his Marmora home. After accusing Benjamin of being a bigot, the Kingston paper revealed its own prejudice: "Oh, Benjamin, Benjamin! Thou has certainly conquered thy religious antipathy to pork, for thou art determined to go the whole hog!!!"

Toleration soon grew. On September 7, 1837, the cornerstone was laid for the new Roman Catholic Church at Belleville, and the procession through the downtown streets was joined by "a large number of respectable inhabitants of the town", apparently representing several denominations. The church's bell was tolled to mark the start and end of the day for town workers of all religions; in summer these mechanics worked from six to six, and in the winter from seven to five.

The churches were enjoying more equal rights. By 1831 religious groups (in addition to Anglican, Presbyterian and Lutheran groups) could appoint trustees and hold up to five acres of land, and their ministers could conduct marriage ceremonies. These concessions were needed, since the Anglican, Presbyterian and Lutheran churches represented less than half of the people of Hastings County.

RELIGIOUS CENSUS, 1840	Thurlow	Sidney	Rawdon	Huntingdon	Hungerford	Marmora	Madoc	Tyendinaga	Total
Church of England	690	364	49	32	145	91	151	536	2058
Church of Scotland	496	360	—	—	74	—	—	326	1256
Catholic	528	217	14	12	207	102	54	600	1734
Wesleyan Methodist	654	811	54	17	169	73	71	—	1857
Episcopal Methodist	689	950	45	21	20	—	170	—	1895
Presbyterian	116	—	34	14	—	32	189	—	385
Baptist	208	269	243	4	—	—	19	24	757
Lutheran	7	48	—	—	2	—	22	—	79
Quaker	137	63	8	27	12	—	3	23	273
Christian	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7
Universalist	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	7
Methodist	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	383	383
Other	282	—	557	726	9	7	9	279	1869
Total Population	3908	3097	1004	853	645	310	695	2187	12699

Among the churches to make history was the Pinnacle Street Methodist Church in Belleville. In 1832, Billa Flint organized what is sometimes called the first Sunday School picnic in Upper Canada, if not in the world. This church was also the first Methodist church in Upper Canada to use instrumental music (a bass viol) in the service. One of the first pipe organs built in Canada was built for the church in 1852 by Benjamin Nutter of Belleville at a cost of one thousand dollars. Nathan Jones, Nutter's brother-in-law, played this instrument for many years at the Pinnacle Street Church and later at Bridge Street Church.

By the time of Confederation there were over sixty churches in the county. Almost half of these were Methodist, followed in number by Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. Three Bible Christian churches in Hungerford, Huntingdon, and Madoc represented a new denomination then making inroads in the rural areas. Two Baptist and one Congregational church completed the picture.

There were far more than sixty congregations in the county by 1867. For example, at Cannifton there was only a single church, that of the Episcopal Methodists; but the Church of England held service in the Methodist Church twice monthly, and the Wesleyan Methodists held service in the court room every Sunday afternoon. In this way the churches ministered to the spiritual needs of the county's citizens.

The nineteenth century churches ministered to more than the spirit. They were community, social, welfare, and educational centres, improving the lot of the individual. Despite their theological differences, their goals were similar. Their early achievements helped to make this a better county in which to live. Their disputes helped to make this a more interesting county.

Chapter 36

The Pioneer Press

*"The Canadian cannot get along without his newspaper
any more than an American could without his tobacco."*

(*Susanna Moodie, 1852*)

Since 1831, the newspapers of Hastings County have kept the citizens informed on world, provincial, and local happenings. They have served as public debating forums for religion and politics, outlets for the work of generations of poets and authors, and sources of information on vital statistics, prices, and fashion trends. They have preached the need for reform at times and at other times the need for conservatism.

From 1810 to 1830, our "local" press consisted of the Kingston *Gazette* and its successors, augmented on December 28, 1830, by Joseph Wilson's *Hallowell Free Press* (Picton).

After 1830, a succession of papers dared to be published at Belleville and other county centres. The first was the *Anglo-Canadian*, which commenced publication at Belleville in February, 1831. It was edited by Dr. Alexander Johnston Williamson (1796?-1870), a poet of some stature. Williamson had published the *Anglo-Canadian* at Niagara before 1830, but in that year moved to Belleville. Early in March, he appealed to Lieutenant-Governor Colborne for a loan of £50 to enable him to re-commence the newspaper. Since he planned to "expose the shallowness" of William Lyon Mackenzie's Radicals, Williamson felt that the provincial government should assist him. He claimed to have 360 promised "subscribers of great respectability", 300 of whom resided in the western part of the province and only 60 at Belleville. By July, 1830, finances permitted him to set up a hand press; however, the scarcity of printers delayed publication for six months. Repeated advertisements in the provincial press finally located two journeymen printers. The first issue was well received. The Kingston *Chronicle* described it as "ably edited" and wished Williamson all manner of success. Good wishes were not enough, however, and, like many other papers, the *Anglo-Canadian* came to an early end within the year.

The *Phoenix* followed early in July, 1831, published by T. Slicer. The following July, the editor of the *Hallowell Free Press* wrote:

"Queri. — Is the Belleville Phoenix, which I understand, is about to expire, expected to disappear in a flame, as is the custom of its ancestors; if so, I think it would not be amiss to inform the public when its exit will take place, as it would be a great curiosity in our day, to witness a sight so pleasing."

The Picton editor did not witness this curiosity, since the final issue of the *Phoenix* had already come off the press. However, the editor did

witness the emergence from the *Phoenix's* ashes of a new journal, the *Hastings Times and Farmers' Journal*. The illness and subsequent death of its proprietor meant the end of this new paper early in 1833.

The *Standard of Moira,* whose motto was "Justice at the Helm— Truth the polar star", unfurled its pages. Although its prospectus claimed that it would become one of the colony's finest papers, the Kingston press commented on the first issue that "The Editor's genius is not at all likely to set the St. Lawrence on Fire". On July 14, 1834, The *Hallowell Free Press* carried the obituary:

"Died. Suddenly, at Belleville a few days ago, the STANDARD OF MOIRA, aged 6 weeks. The Editor and Proprietor, having both run away.—We understand that the Estate is much involved."

Somewhat discouraged by the short life expectancy of Belleville newspapers, the Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette* announced:

"The prospectus of another newspaper, by Mr. G. Benjamin, has appeared at Belleville, to be called *The Belleville Intelligencer and Hastings General Advertiser*. The prospectus is a very long one . . . if *The Intelligencer* should have the good fortune to live six months, we will speak further of it."

The Hallowell Free Press offered more encouragement:

"Mr. Benjamin says truly, that the Press of Belleville has obtained an evil name, but certain it is, that Belleville is in want of a well conducted periodical, and we hope that unlike its predecessors, the present candidate for public patronage, will attain to years of maturity."

The Intelligencer soon surprised everyone by its stamina. Despite a brief lapse in publication in 1839, the paper has continued to the present and is one of the four oldest papers in Ontario. Toronto's oldest newspaper, the *Globe*, was not founded until ten years after *The Intelligencer*.

The founder of *The Intelligencer* was George Benjamin, a short, stout bespectacled man with a ringing laugh. A "gentleman of more than ordinary ability", according to William Canniff, Benjamin was as successful as a journalist as he was later as a county warden and member of parliament. Within a few months of *The Intelligencer's* beginning, the *Patriot* and other provincial newspapers were quoting its editorials on such matters as the American and Canadian banking systems and voting by ballot. On the latter issue, *The Intelligencer* came out strongly opposed, citing as its main reason the failure of the American system of government: "We hope, never to see it introduced . . . if it is, then there is the first blow of a total subversion of our principles of government."

Among Benjamin's apprentices in the business was Mackenzie Bowell, later prime minister of Canada. Bowell joined the staff as a printer's devil in the paper's first year and by the early 1850's became owner and editor. He was often engaged in bitter political controversy with the *Hastings Chronicle,* a Liberal newspaper established in 1841. In its editor,

Abraham Diamond, he found an opponent worthy of his steel. In 1873, the *Hastings Chronicle* amalgamated with *The Ontario*, begun in 1870 by J. W. Carman, who earlier had published *The Independent*. Finally in 1930, *The Ontario* and *The Intelligencer* united, creating the present Belleville paper.

The early newspapers were very different from modern ones. For example, the *Phoenix* of February 7, 1832, was a four-page, six column sheet, which cost its subscribers twenty shillings or four dollars a year. The only local news it contained was the statement of appropriations for road and bridge contracts. Instead, it carried a lengthy article from a

The Intelligencer staff in the late nineteenth century.

New York paper "On the Choice of Suitable Land for Farming", a criticism of Marshals Ney and Grouchy at the Battle of Waterloo (1815), two long poems by Canadian poet W. F. Hawley, and a long list of unclaimed letters at the local post office. Two pages of advertisements and notices added local flavour. William McCarty gave notice that he was "determined to make beer of the best quality". Jonathan E. Sleeper reminded "such of his customers as have left him and gone elsewhere and who have made promises of payment after harvest that the time is near at hand". Thomas Coleman warned that he would prosecute "certain ill-disposed persons" who were "in the habit of destroying his fences and cutting down his shrubbery for fish-poles during the summer".

Advertisements for medicines promised much. In 1837, leading apothecary and druggist E. Chandler offered Smith's Poor Man's Cough Drops as a cure for colds, coughs, and whooping cough. The sellers of Dr. Brandreth's Pills warned that imitations of their fine products were on the market. The red hot shovel test was the way to tell the real pill

from the imitations. Placed on a red hot shovel, Dr. Brandreth's pill would dissolve; whereas the inferior pill would resist the heat, and such a pill might produce epileptic fits. Brandreth's pills were advertised as "pre-eminent in the prevention and cure of smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, erysipelas, putrid sore throat, whooping-cough and all other prevailing diseases of the season or climate, either with adults or children". Another notable "wonder" product was Mexican Mustang Liniment for the "cure of Rheumatism, Piles, Salt Rheum, Ulcers, Gout, Stiff Joints, all Scrofulous affections (tuberculosis conditions), Lumbago, Neuralgia, Old Sores, Felons, Burns, Bruises, Cuts, Scalds, Sprains, Chafes, Hard Lumps, or Tumors, and all kinds of pain, in man or beast". The ladies were advised to keep a bottle of Mexican Mustang Liniment in the house, while farmers and livery stable owners would also find it very handy.

Periodicals of all kinds continued to flourish, some temporarily. Samuel Hart's *Plain Speaker*—was a focal point for events in the 1837 Rebellion, as noted earlier. George D. Greenleaf issued *The Victoria Sun* in 1840, leading the Kingston press to comment: "We hope the light of the Sun, while its beams are pure, will not be darkened, by the shades of obscurity". The *Victoria Chronicle*, later renamed the *Hastings Chronicle*, commenced in 1841. Joseph Wilson published the *Eclectic Magazine*, which was soon followed by *Wilson's Experiment*, a family paper designed to "draw out talent", and so on. In 1847-48, Dunbar and Susanna Moodie edited the *Victoria Magazine* for him. Wilson experimented in other fields, operating a lending library (some of whose books he complained had been out for a long as a year), selling books at his Victoria Bookstore, and even doing paperhanging.

Dunbar and Susanna Moodie were the literary giants of the district in the period before Confederation. They were leading contributors to the *Literary Garland*, published at Montreal in the early 1840's. Their *Victoria Magazine* a "useful, entertaining, and cheap periodical", was described by William Canniff as the "pioneer of Canadian literature". Then in 1849, they brought out *Moodie's Magazine*, a short-lived attempt to improve the mind of the citizenry. The Moodies were encouraged in their work by Bishop Strachan of Toronto, who wrote: "We are, I fear, too little advanced as yet in this new country to appreciate literary merit as we ought, therefore the support may not be as good as your friends desire. Nevertheless Mrs. Moodie's talents are so excellent and so generally acknowledged that we must not be discouraged".

Other papers included *The Expositor*, published in 1857 by Benjamin Davy, who used the paper to further his election campaign in the Hastings South parliamentary election. Despite bitter attacks on his Conservative opponent and lengthy accounts of his own speeches, Davy was defeated; *The Expositor* ceased publication. In 1879 the *City Chit Chat*, "a Journal Devoted to Gossip," appeared briefly. Its contents included a

warning to John J—that "Being a married man he should not escort fascinating widows to church in the gallant manner he did last Sunday night at Madoc. . . ." John J. was advised to stay in Belleville where he belonged. In 1894, merchant S. G. Retallack published a monthly periodical, the *Belleville Echo.*
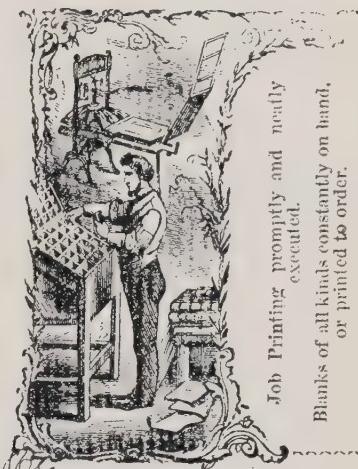
Throughout the county, weekly newspapers sprang up when population warranted it. At Trenton, *The Advocate* began publication in 1854 and *The Courier* a few years later, the two uniting in 1923. About 1862, the *Madoc Mercury and North Riding News* became the first paper in the northern section of the county. Following the gold discovery at Eldorado, it became the *Madoc Mercury and North Hastings Mining News* in 1867. *The North Hastings Review* commenced publication at Madoc in 1877. The *Stirling News-Argus* began in 1879; the *Tweed News* in 1887; and the *Marmora Herald* and the *Bancroft Times* in 1894. At Deseronto, the Rathbun Company published *The Tribune* in the late nineteenth century, and the *Deseronto Post* was a second paper. Other county papers have included the *Frankford Advocate* (1940), the *Frankford Advertiser* (founded 1956), the *Stirling Leader* (1915-1921), the *Tweed Advocate* (1908-25), the Trenton *Quinte Sun* (1923-42), and the *Trentonian* (founded 1952) which has taken over the *Trenton Courier-Advocate.*

These newspapers have served the public well. Their continued existence and the development of daily and tri-weekly papers in Belleville and Trenton is evidence of the important role they fulfil.

Popular Pastimes

> *"Drinking is the curse of Canada, and the very low price of whisky places the temptation constantly in every one's reach."*
>
> <div align="right">(Susanna Moodie, 1852)</div>

The pioneers always found time for recreation and social activity. They were hospitable, and one of their favourite activities was visiting. Strangers were welcomed, since they probably brought news of other areas, much like the troubadours in mediaeval times. Neighbours would call in and talk of old times, present weather and crop conditions, and future hopes. The blazing hearth was the centre of attractive conversation, and the warm glow was reflected on the hardy faces of the pioneers. The younger children, ordered off to bed, lay in their bunks and listened to the talk. Sometimes, the stories were of ghosts.

Visits normally were made without invitations. However, there were some occasions when invitations were sent out, and that was when help was needed. Bees were held for raising houses or barns, clearing land, logging, or other useful purposes. The glorious supper with pot-pie, cakes, and pumpkin and apple pies was a highlight of the bee. In the evening there were games and dancing.

Weddings were festive occasions. At a local wedding near Foxboro in 1807, the guests came on horseback. The ceremony was held early in the day and was followed by a banquet crowned with a majestic chicken pie. Play and games occupied the afternoon and evening. The entire party

Picnic Day at McArthur's Mills, Mayo Township. The hand-made wooden Ferris Wheel was fashioned by Archie McArthur. On the Picnic day, a man was drowned a few yards upstream, while shooting the rapids in a canoe. The house shown was the village's first, erected about 1875.

spent the night housed in the parents' homes and the next morning set off on horseback to Belleville. There the night was spent "in following the notes of the fiddle with the nimble feet". The charivari or chivaree party is still common in the country.

Perhaps the earliest entertainment troop to visit the county was the circus. In August, 1825, Blanchard's Royal Circus of Quebec played at Kingston, Hallowell, and Belleville. The performance began with a grand military cavalcade by six beautiful chargers, which were trained to "lie down, set up, and go through other manoeuvres". Among the performers was Master Leslie, "the undaunted youth who will introduce a number of surprising Feats, never attempted by any person of his age, being only ten years old, in which he will go through the Stirrup Tricks, and conclude with the arduous task of RIDING ON HIS HEAD". Mr. Blanchard performed "his wonderful Backward and Forward Feats on Two Horses, with Hoops, Whips, Garters". Later, dressed in the style and costume of a celebrated Greek performer, Blanchard displayed "his wonderful powers with the Peacock's Feather, Pyramids of Lights, sheet of Paper on Fire, the China Bow String, the Reed & Drunken Top, and the Three Circular Plates". Comic songs included "Froggey Would a Wooing Go".
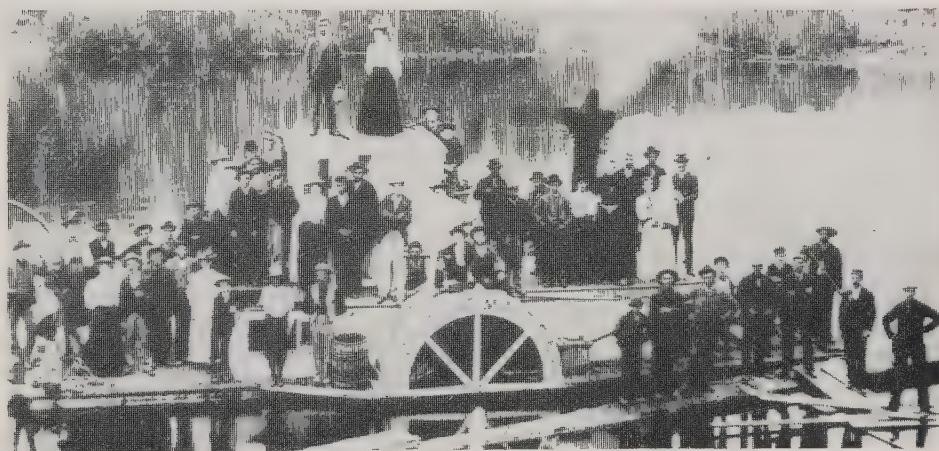
The old "Alligator" boat "Weslemkoon" and a picnic group at the Conroy farm, Carlow Township, circa 1900.

Among the early animal shows to appear locally was that of the Menagerie and Aviary of the New York Zoological Institute. On July 2, 1835, a large number of interested persons gathered at Belleville to see the elephant, black maned lion, gnu, white pelicans and other attractions. The keeper entered the cage of the African leopards, much to the enjoyment of the crowd. Barnum's travelling menagerie of wild animals was another well-received visitor in the 1840's, according to Susanna Moodie. Large handbills posted up in taverns announced the coming of a circus. On the morning of the performance, hundreds of little boys walked out to Shannonville to meet the troop. The circus was held in a large tent pitched near the Scotch Church. Light was provided by a

Winter costume of the late nineteenth century as worn by a Wallbridge youth.

"large chandelier, composed of tin holders, filled with very bad, greasy, tallow candles, that in the close crowded place emit a very disagreeable odour". Although Mrs. Moodie found many acts very dull, she enjoyed the feats of horsemanship and was amused by the man selling bull's-eyes (candy) and lemonade. The show was on at two and again at half-past seven, the people from a distance and the younger children taking in the afternoon performance. The Indians were particularly fond of the circus and attended in large numbers.

In the summer of 1847, Van Amburgh's "Grand Triumphal Exhibition and Magnificent Collection of Wild Animals" containing the new and colossal "ROMAN CHARIOT . . . drawn by eight black Flemish horses of prodigious size and weight" and Shelton's Famous American Brass Band from New York exhibited at both Belleville and River Trent (Trenton). Since there were more and more travelling shows making more and more stops, Thurlow Township Council in 1850 tried to regulate the traffic by requiring that a licence costing £7 be obtained by all showmen, mountebanks, jugglers, wire dancers, and everyone displaying wax figures, wild animals, puppets, "or other idle arts". In 1851, the celebrated General Tom Thumb visited Belleville. "His presence was hailed with enthusiastic delight, and people crowded from the most remote settlements to gaze upon the tiny man."

Travelling lecturers, mostly from the United States, spoke on all subjects. They usually hired the room belonging to the Mechanics Institute, where, for a York shilling, they would speak on "mesmerism, phrenology, biology, phonography, spiritual communications," and other topics. Among these lecturers was Professor R., who for several nights lectured on mesmerism at no charge and then obtained two dollars for examining a head phrenologically and drawing out a chart. His cheap lectures proved to be "an uncommonly profitable speculation," according to Mrs. Moodie, who felt that he charged too much for his individual examinations. She compared the visits of the great conjurer Blitz to "angel visits, few and far between. His performance never fails in filling the large room in the court-house for several successive nights, and his own purse."

Local citizens provided the great bulk of entertainment. Societies honouring St. George, St. Andrew, and Robert Burns held annual banquets and celebrations. As early as 1828, the officers of the First Hastings Regiment met for a St. George's Dinner to celebrate the King's birthday. Many appropriate and patriotic songs were sung, and the evening was spent "with the utmost harmony and conviviality". At another banquet, fourteen toasts were proposed by the chairman, followed by nine spontaneous toasts, the latter covering the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the county of Hastings, the town of Belleville, and "various internal improvements". "The utmost hilarity prevailed throughout the whole, and the clock had told 12 and the succeeding dawn began to glimmer in the east e're all the faithful spirits had retired."

Most men were two-fisted drinkers. Sheriff Dunbar Moodie described a logging bee:

> "There was a man in our town,
> In our town, in our town —
> There was a man in our town,
> He made a logging bee;
> And he bought lots of whisky,
> To make the loggers frisky —
> To make the loggers frisky,
> At his logging bee.
> The Devil sat on a log heap,
> A log heap, a log heap —
> A red-hot burning log heap —
> A - grinning at the bee;
> And there was lots of swearing,
> Of boasting and of daring,
> Of fighting and of tearing,
> At that logging bee."

Susanna Moodie noted that some bees were turning into "disgusting scenes of riot and low debauchery". William Hutton wrote (1835) that a moderate man was one who did not exceed four glasses in the day.

At Montreal in 1828, a temperance society had been formed and township societies soon followed in Upper Canada. In December, 1829, Billa Flint helped to organize a temperance society in Hastings County; at its peak it had 1,400 members. Originally these societies were against only whisky, rum, and brandy; however, in 1835 the first total abstinence society in Upper Canada was formed at St. Catharines. The same year, Reverend Charles Jones lectured locally on total abstinence, and a county society was formed. In 1829, the Midland District Medical Society attacked the problem, declaring that " a great proportion of the chronic disorders of the District owe their origin, either directly or indirectly, to the too free use of distilled spirits". The doctors denied "the vulgar

opinion" that the use of spirits tended to protect the users from disease. Nevertheless, the situation did not improve, and in 1852 Susanna Moodie could write that drinking was "the curse of Canada".

Gambling was common, and lotteries were frequent. Typical of the local lotteries was the Grand Lottery held in February, 1854. "Hurrah for Speculation!" was the heading in the press. Twenty prizes valued at $715 were offered to the holders of the lucky tickets. First prize was a "New Pleasure Carriage" (valued at £50), while second prize was a threshing machine (valued at £25). Also listed were *Wesley's Notes on the New Testament*. Only 113 tickets for this prize list were offered, and each ticket cost five dollars. Although the names of the winners have not come down to us, the draw must have been a colourful event, with the proprietor surrounded by ticket holders, threshing machine, buggies, horses, sows, harness, and religious books.

The first Oddfellows Band at Belleville, 1877, led by Paul LaRue. This band was a successor to the Victoria Brass Band of the 1840's.

Mrs. Moodie approved of entertainment designed to elevate rather than degrade. She and her husband were steadfast supporters of the Victoria Brass Band, formed at Belleville in the 1840's by Mr. Jackson. The band's most popular selections when it performed at Picton in March, 1847, were two new songs, "O Can You Leave Your Native Land" (poetry by Mrs. Moodie, music by Sheriff Moodie), and "The Odd Fellows Song" (words and music by Sheriff Moodie), the latter number earning "unbounded applause". The brass band also performed the "Odd Fellows Quick Step", written by Mr. W. H. Houghton for the dedication of the new Odd Fellows' Hall at Belleville.
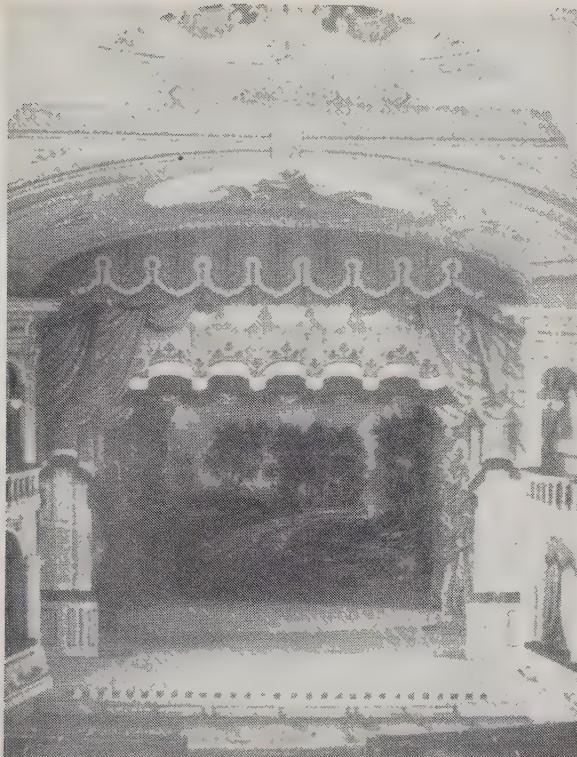
The Griffin Opera House at Belleville was the county's finest at the beginning of the present century. Its magnificent interior contrasted with its exterior appearance (as seen in the picture on page 233.

W. H. Houghton was a leading county musician a century ago. In a vocal concert in the spring of 1846, he introduced a number of the "most popular songs and ballads", including "The Maniac", "The Ship on Fire", "The Dream of the Reveller", and "The Gambler's Wife". Admission for the performance was 2s. 6d., and the site was the drawing room of Dr. James Lister's house at Belleville.

There were few theatrical performances in the county. Sometimes the young men got up an amateur performance in which they acted the parts of both ladies and gentlemen. One of the few professional actors to appear at Belleville was Horton Rhys who described his stay in 1860:

"The theatre in which we played *was* new with a vengeance — so *new* that it consisted of simply lath and plaster; the lessee, a Mr. Lester, did all he could to make it endurable, but — ye gods! I never *was* so cold, and Lucille and myself to this day regret having taken fifty dols. a night to play at Belleville. The audience, numerous and respectable in the first night, would not turn out on the second . . . We played a third night . . . to a paying audience who were kind enough to forgive our involuntary variations in the shape of sneezings, wheezings, and other unmusical introductions."

The extension of education, the introduction of several newspapers after 1831, and improved lighting devices encouraged reading. Lending libraries developed, including the Thurlow Circulating Library begun in 1847 by the inhabitants of that township. In its first annual report, the

library board announced that 120 volumes had been obtained. Books were acclaimed as being the road to knowledge, and the report concluded:

"But if any please thus to neglect their opportunities for acquiring knowledge, they can have their choice; but let them at the same time, make up their minds to exist as mere cyphers in society; to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; to float down as leaves upon the bosom of the stream, unknown, unregarded, soon to be forgotten, as if they had never been."

Dinner parties were an important part of town life in the mid-century. Susanna Moodie recalled that, when she came to Belleville in 1839, evening parties began at the primitive and rational hour of six o'clock, but by 1850 "invitations are issued for eight; the company, however, seldom assemble before nine, and those who wish to be very fashionable don't make their appearance before ten". These evening parties always included dancing, and Mrs. Moodie confessed that she had never met a Canadian girl who could not dance, and dance well. The favoured dances were the polka, waltz, and quadrille; the last dance was usually the lively, romping eight Scotch reel, after which a splendid supper was enjoyed, the ladies always being served first.

At the public balls held on the Queen's birthday and other occasions, both upper and lower classes were present. There was little mixing; each group kept to its own set and danced alternately.

Mr. Palmer, winner of the Deacon Road Race from Trenton to Belleville. Time: 76 minutes.

By 1860, a great many associations and societies flourished. At Belleville, the list included the St. George's Society headed by Henry Corby and Mackenzie Bowell, the St. Andrew's Society, Masonic lodges, Orange lodges, a literary association holding weekly Friday evening debates in rooms over the post office, the Belleville Branch of the Bible Society, the Young Men's Christian Association meeting weekly for lectures in the winter, the Workingman's Temperance Association, and the Band of Hope consisting of 250 young Temperance followers. In the county, there were Masonic lodges at Trenton, Madoc, Stirling, and Frankford; almost forty Orange lodges; branches of the St. George's Society at Stirling and Trenton; a Mechanics Institute at Madoc; a Society of Good Templars at Bridgewater; and a chess club and two cricket clubs at Madoc. Euchre parties and county auctions were other activities.

Cricket was perhaps the most popular sport in the Confederation period. Cricket teams were formed at least as early as the 1830's, and the boast of the Belleville team in the 1840's was "Belleville against Toronto—Cobourg—Kingston—the whole world!" The editor of the Kingston paper once referred to the team members as "singed cats — ugly to look at but very devils to go". Although the sport declined later, in 1878 there was still an excellent club, "The Belleville", in existence. The sport continued into the present century, a new cricket club being organized in 1903.

Massassauga Park across the Bay of Quinte from Belleville was a favourite excursion centre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The "Aletha" is shown with an excursion group, circa 1913.

Riding, picnics, and boating parties were popular in the summers. A favourite place for riding parties, as early as the 1840's, was the Oak Hill Lake near Stirling. Lake-on-the-Mountain, in Prince Edward County, was a favourite picnic spot for Sunday School groups from Belleville, Deseronto, and other centres. At the adult picnics, according to Susanna Moodie, some pretty island in the bay or a shady retired spot on the mainland was selected, a fire was lit, and vegetables were cooked to eat with the hams, fowl, meat pies, cold joints of meat, tarts, and cakes. The ladies strolled about and gathered wild fruits and flowers, while the men fished. There might be singing or dancing, followed by a reunion in the evening at the home of one of the married ladies.

Fishing was a favourite pastime. As early as 1817, several Sidney Township citizens complained that some unprincipled characters farther up the Trent River were obstructing it. The Sidney Township folk feared that the salmon might abandon the river altogether.

Winter horse-racing on the ice was popular on the Bay of Quinte as early as the 1850's, and skating parties became common. In 1863, the county's first covered ice rink was erected in Belleville, at a cost of twelve hundred dollars.

Carlow Township ball players, 1913.

In the 1870's, chess was played by telegraph between teams in Belleville, Napanee, and other centres. Horseshoes gained in popularity, and competitions were held throughout the county. Baseball (or bass-ball as it was called in an 1860 account) gradually replaced cricket in popularity. An account of a cricket game played at Belleville on July 5, 1882, between married men and single, noted that the game was not finished because of rain. It was not finished on the next day either, "as very

"Old Country Football" (soccer) was a popular game in Hastings County. The Melrose (Tyendinaga Township) team of 1896 included: William Chapman, Sid Simpkins, John Latta, Clem Haight, William Robinson, Will Gordanier, (back row); Mike Brennan, Arthur Osborne, William McLaren (centre); Fred Ray, Peter McLaren (front).

few bachelors appeared on the scene of action. No doubt they were otherwise engaged".

Canada's national game, lacrosse, caught on in the late nineteenth century. Its followers were very enthusiastic. In 1882, the Oka Lacrosse Club of Belleville announced that its members would meet three mornings a week at six o'clock for practice. A reporter commented that: "Of course this early practice is not intended to interfere with the usual evening practice". The first lacrosse match ever played in Madoc took place on August 22, 1882, between the clerks and mechanics of the Sioux Lacrosse Team of that village; the clerks won. Accidents could happen, and in one game Mr. Christie, an operator on the Grand Trunk, "was knocked insensible", although Dr. Dolan soon brought him around. By 1892, lacrosse was moving indoors, and box lacrosse was being played in the Belleville arena. More recently, lacrosse has been introduced into the sports programmes at some county secondary schools, although it has not regained its former popularity.

Marmora Lacrosse Team in the early 1900's.

Yachting gained in popularity. In 1878 it was described as the "prevailing and favourite pastime of the people". Perhaps the most famous local yacht was the "Atlanta", built at Belleville by Alexander Cuthbert for J. J. B. Flint and C. P. Holton. She raced at New York for the American Cup in 1881, and two years later at Chicago won the Fisher Cup as the best freshwater yacht. Later, the yacht "Nora", owned by John Bell of Belleville, held the Fisher Cup. Regattas soon became very popular, and in a rowing regatta on the Bay of Quinte in 1896, world champion oarsman Edward Hanlon took part.

Belleville and Napanee Bicycle Clubs, at the Belleville market square.
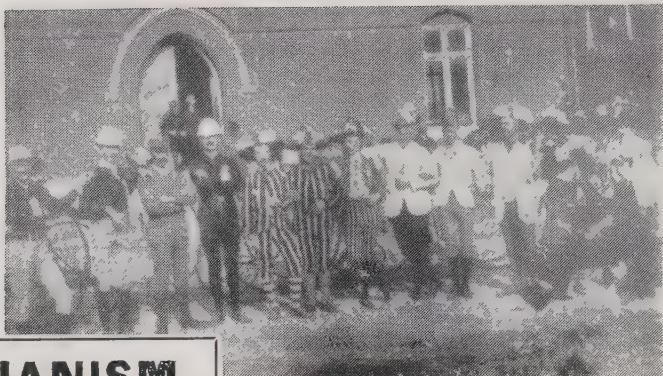
PEDESTRIANISM.

ROBERT FELL,

THE Young London Pedestrian, has just arrived in Town and he is going to walk one hundred hours in succession, for a purse of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, at the Head Quarters Saloon, Front Street, commences at 10 o'clock on WEDNESDAY MORN-ING, JANUARY 19th, 1859. He is to walk on the bedding of the Bowling Alley, for one hundred hours, without sleep or rest, with the exception of ten minutes in every twenty-four hours. There will be four gentlemen to watch and see that the feat is done fairly. This young Pedestrian is 18 years of age, stands 5 feat 3 inches and weighs about 120 lbs. Admittance 12¼ cents.

Belleville, January 11, 1859.   21

Walking (or pedestrianism as it was called) earned a following, and bicycle clubs and six day bicycle races were attractions late in the century.

Iceboating was another pleasing recreation. Sir Gilbert Parker (1862-1932), a noted novelist associated closely with the county, recalled travelling twelve miles in eleven minutes on the Bay of Quinte about 1880. "The journey was made on a day of days. The land white with snow, the trees along the shore glittering with frost, the air stirring strongly, the sun as hot as summer and as bright as a diamond, the whole world open to the eye, washed, starched and laundered to a perfect cleanness, and the long stretch of bay a noble race-course, where the sails of the iceboats spread like the wings of arctic birds. No complicated machinery to work, no bevel and different wheels, no gear to change, but a skeleton beneath — two runners with a cross-piece on which to sit — and the wide shining sail above . . . It is a simple and primitive contest, where dangers clutch at you every second, and you drive down the wind with strained, enthralled eye and flaming cheek, striving for first place home. That is sport, and it is speed; it is flying on the wings of the wind."

A distinguished lecturer to appear locally was the Irish writer Oscar Wilde, who spoke at the Belleville City Hall on May 23, 1882. His subject was the "practical application of the Aesthetic Theory to exterior and interior House Decoration, and to Dress and Personal Ornaments". *The Ontario* jibed: "Oscar is aestheticizing the people of Canada at 50 cents

A group of Hastings County excursionists is shown enjoying the Sandbanks of Prince Edward County, shortly before 1900.

a head . . . Oscar Wilde is said to live on glistening dew drops and sunflowers . . . seed merchants say here that there never before was such a demand for sunflower seeds. It must be the result of Oscar Wilde's visit to this country . . ." Wilde's appearance caused the hearts of many women to flutter. On stage he wore tight-fitting patent leather shoes ornamented by large silver buckles, black silk hose, black silk knee ties, and a "court dress of wine-coloured velvet". According to *The Intelligencer*, "a perfect cascade of rich lace enveloped his neck and rested on his breast, and his hands were partially hidden by lace ruffles". Although his appearance created a stir, much of what he said, according to *The Ontario*, was "stale and stupid".

Perhaps no group brought the county more fame at the beginning of this century than the famous Kilties Band. Organized about 1898 by a group of Belleville citizens under T. P. J. Powers, the Kilties Band visited more than twenty different countries and twice played on command before Edward VII (who, as Prince of Wales, had visited the Belleville harbour in 1860). The forty band members wore the striking costume of the Kilties. When marching, the band was headed by its seven foot tall drum major, Donald MacCormack.

The present century has witnessed new and rapid developments in the field of recreation and social activity. Old Boys' Reunions have been held at several centres. After World War I, service clubs sprang up throughout the district. The talking pictures replaced the silent "flicks"; radio and now television offer a variety of professional entertainment; and part of the appeal of local entertainment has gone. Football gained prominence, and the Belleville McFarlands won the Canadian and World Hockey Championships in 1958 and 1959. Thanks to the provincial government, the Moira River Conservation Authority, and other groups, more facilities have been provided for those who enjoy camping, picnics, and nature hikes. Belleville historian W. C. Mikel predicted that Zwick's Island would become "one of the most attractive park sites in eastern Ontario", a prediction now being realized through the Centennial grants programme.

The Challenge of the Twentieth Century

The twentieth century belongs to Canada.
(Joseph T. Clark, 1890's)

The twentieth century has been a most difficult period for our citizens. They have experienced the effects of two devastating world wars, a disastrous depression, and a period of prosperity surpassing anything known before.

As the century began, a small contingent of twenty district soldiers was serving in South Africa with the British forces attempting to crush the Boer uprising. On their return from the South African War, the volunteers were presented with commemorative gold lockets by an appreciative city council. County Council also honoured these warriors who were keeping alive our proud military tradition.

Economic conditions were good. Cheese production in Hastings County was at a peak (although there was a sharp reduction in the overseas trade after 1908), and wheat production also reached a peak in

Trucking cheese to steamer at Belleville, 1913.
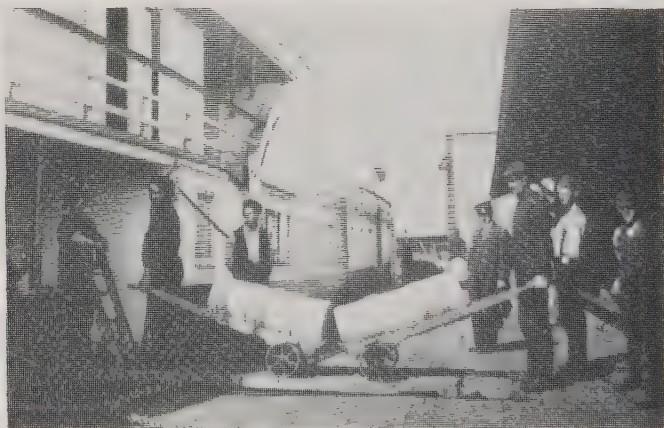
1900. By 1901, Belleville's gas street lights had all been replaced by electricity. The first automobiles made their appearance on district roads. Among the early owners was Adolphus Burgoyne, who in 1904 imported a wine coloured, one cylinder Packard from New York. Entry to the car was from the rear by steps and the seats were grouped around in a solid square. There was no muffler. Gas and oil were sent by the drum from Toronto. Strict provincial laws governed the early car operator. In 1903, speed limits were set at ten miles an hour in cities and towns or fifteen miles an hour on the open highway. The operator had to sound an alarm bell at every intersection and exercise reasonable care not to

frighten horses. Nonetheless, horses continued to be frightened by the mechanical marvels, and in 1905 the law was changed so that the motorist had to keep to seven miles an hour when near horses and, in case of an accident, prove that the car had not frightened the horses.

Among the first cars in north Hastings was this one owned by Lester Wannamaker, postmaster at Boulter in Carlow Township. Mr. Wannamaker and his family were arrayed in their "Sunday best".

In 1905, there were bargains galore as merchants competed for the consumer's dollar. Tweed merchant J. E. Matchett gave dinner sets away free and urged his customers to ask for coupons; he sold $2.00 skirts for $1.50, black satin undershirts for 99 cents each, and men's coats were offered from $4.00 to $7.50. Santa Claus planned to make Matchett's store his headquarters while in Tweed. In the same year, butter was 20 cents a pound; a four room apartment rented for $4.00 a month with heat supplied from September to May; and a country schoolmaster might receive $450 a year.

The Children's Aid Society was formed in Belleville in 1907 and, through the generosity of Thomas Ritchie, a Children's Shelter was erected on land adjoining the Belleville Hospital. By 1910, the county fathers had need of additional office space for county officials, and a north wing was built on the court house. The Grand Trunk Railway completed a forty-engine roundhouse at Belleville in 1910. A strike on the railroad caused violence at Brockville, and the Belleville mayor and the police force went to the local station in case of violence (as in 1876-77); however, a reporter noted: "It was as quiet as a Quaker's meeting when the trains arrived".

Fashions advertised for sale in 1914 by the Ritchie Company, Belleville. The golf coat at left was an all-wool Black and White Check material with convertible collar . . . 'Kimona' sleeves . . . five-inch Balkan Belt . . . Price $9.50. The coat at right sold for $12.75 and was trimmed with Green Satin inlaid and overlaid with Cream Scalloped Lace . . .''

The county's population continued to increase, although many townships registered lower figures than they had in the 1870's. After 1910, Belleville again reached the ten thousand mark, which figure it had first achieved in 1876. Postal delivery service began at Belleville in 1913.

Politically, the Conservative party continued to dominate the local scene in both provincial and federal elections. The federal North Hastings Riding was Conservative, without exception, from 1867 to 1903, at which time the riding ceased to exist. The East and West Ridings were also generally Conservative, although each had been briefly represented by Liberals in the previous century, for example when James Brown (elected in the West Riding as a Conservative member in 1867 and 1872)

Loyal Orange Lodge, Springbrook, July 12, 1911.

switched parties and won as a Liberal in 1874 and 1878. Provincially, the North and West Ridings were generally Conservative, although the East Riding did see a Liberal elected in the 1890's and an Independent Liberal, E. W. Rathbun, Deseronto businessman, elected in 1905.

Municipal politics flourished. About 1910, the Wharf Street Debating Club began as a forum for free political expression. Since that time, candidates for public office at Belleville have faced the questions, jibes, and good natured comments of the all-male gathering, and the club has become an institution.
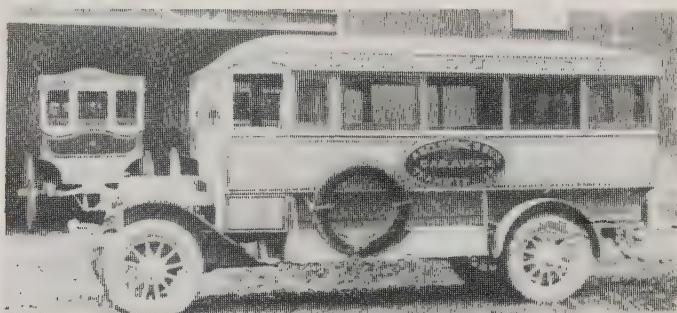
Aselstine's Bus, 1916.
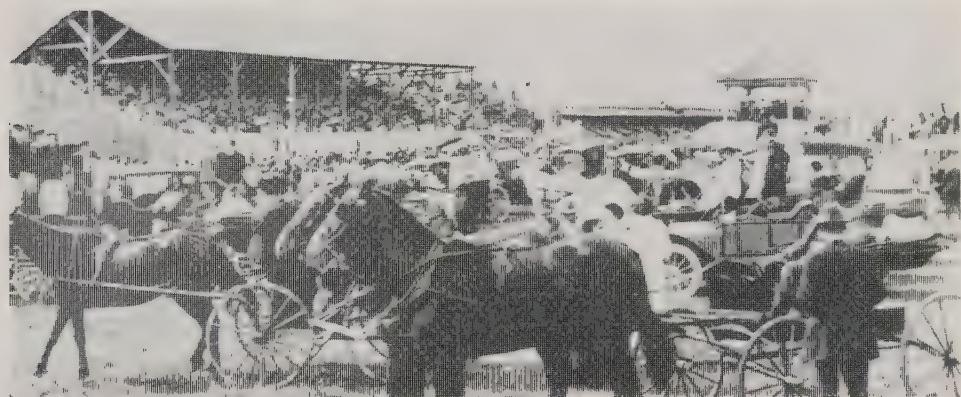
South Hastings Agricultural Fair, 1913.

Hastings County Council was the first in the province to interest itself in reforestation, and as early as 1911 it appointed a reforestation committee. This committee was instrumental in having laws passed legalizing county forests. The committee also recommended the purchase of 2800 acres of land in Elzevir and Grimsthorpe Township as the nucleus of a county forest, but no action towards this goal was taken for another forty years.

The storm clouds of World War I darkened the horizon in 1914. The county responded and volunteers were soon training at Valcartier, Quebec. Prior to their departure for Europe, these volunteers received the first of many shipments of needed articles from the newly formed
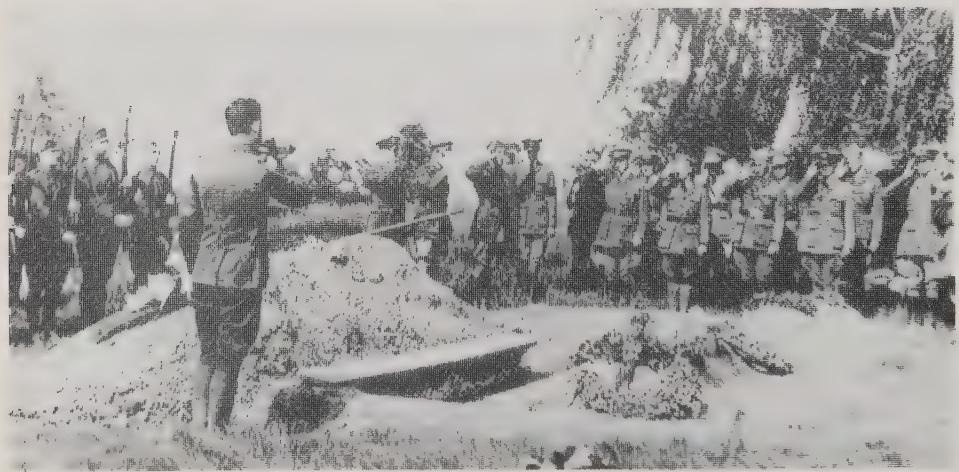
In the spring of 1917, the Royal Flying Corps began training Canadian recruits as pilots for service overseas. Two aerodromes were established near Toronto and two others near Deseronto — Camp Mohawk and Camp Rathbun. The training planes were the Curtiss JN4's, usually called "Jennies". These two-seaters cost $11,000 each, and had a speed of about 75 miles per hour. These pictures show scenes at the Deseronto camps, including the funeral service for a pilot killed in a training mishap.

local branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society: health belts, wristlets, helmets, scarves, socks, and so on. In Europe, the soldiers served well, and their deeds are written in the history of such battles as Mont Sorrel, the Somme, Hill 70, Ypres, and Amiens. At home, the women worked in the factories, rapidly converted for war production.

Contingent of county troops at the Belleville armouries, circa 1915. The Griffin Opera House is in the background.

Word of the armistice was received in the county at four o'clock on the morning of November 11, 1918. It came over the Grand Trunk telegraph lines to the lone operator on duty at Belleville: "Armistice signed last night, effective six o'clock this morning (official)." With the news confirmed, *The Intelligencer* staff scurried to put out a special edition. The edition was "snapped up like hot cakes". Fire bells, church bells, and factory whistles heralded the glad tidings. The court house lawn

The British Chemical Company plant at Trenton, built in 1915 to manufacture artillery, rifle, and small arms ammunition. Three weeks before the Armistice, an explosion levelled the plant, which stood on the site of the old Gilmour Company saw mill.

was the scene of a Thanksgiving Victory Peace Service at eleven o'clock. A mammoth procession and a public meeting on the armouries' lawn followed. Throughout the county, spontaneous celebrations broke out as the citizens celebrated the end of the "War to End Wars".

The Red Cross Society turned its hand to peace-time operations. Outpost hospitals were equipped at Bancroft and Coe Hill.

Biculturalism attracted local attention long before the recent royal commission. In July, 1918, W. C. Mikel inspired a two-day conference at Belleville to discuss ways and means of arriving at a better understanding between French and English speaking Canadians. At this "Better Understanding Meeting", Colonel W. N. Ponton summed up the feelings of the delegates from both cultural groups when he said that Canada should not be regarded as one of the melting pots of the world, but "as a great social laboratory where all are working together for a purpose, coining coins that ring true." Unfortunately, the session was marred by Orange-Catholic rivalry, and tempers were frayed over charges of illiteracy and educational backwardness in Quebec.

The Rossmore end of the Bay Bridge linking Hastings and Prince Edward counties at Belleville. This picture, taken about 1909, shows the toll house to the right. Erected in 1891 and later rebuilt, the bridge was declared free in 1921.

The 1920's witnessed modest prosperity. Transportation took a step ahead in 1921 when the bridge linking Belleville and Prince Edward County (opened on Dominion Day, 1891) was purchased by the province and the two municipalities. On Dominion Day, 1921, it was declared a free bridge; tolls were removed, and traffic moved freely between the two counties.

By 1924, Belleville boasted 1,293 automobiles. The same year the citizens took time to celebrate the 140 year anniversary of the landing
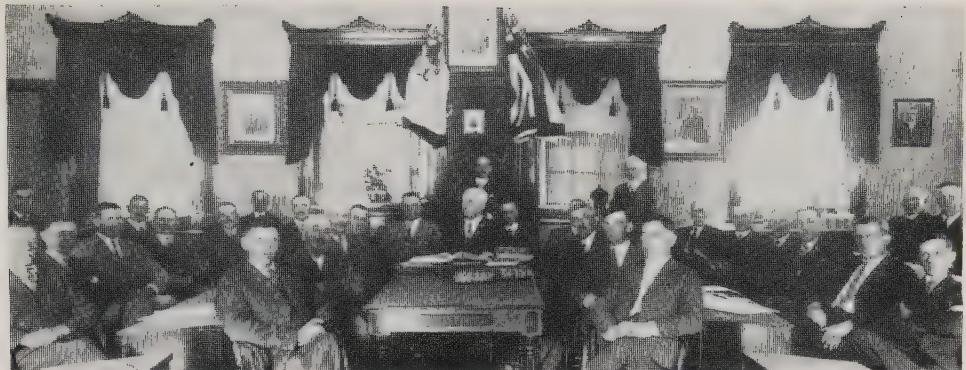
Hastings County Council, meeting in Shire Hall, 1925, with W. E. Wiggins of Faraday as warden.

of the Loyalists at the Bay of Quinte, and both Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Conservative leader Arthur Meighen attended the father and son banquet at the Y.M.C.A. on November 23. The Kiwanis Club introduced the Victorian Order of Nurses and sponsored its work until the thirties. In 1929, the Dominion Parasite Laboratory was begun at Belleville for the purpose of breeding insects that destroy injurious insects.

The Great Depression ushered in the "Dirty Thirties". Unemployment caused many persons to seek employment, usually unsuccessfully, in other parts of the country. The small farmer was thankful for the food that he could grow for his own use. Conditions were aggravated by the flooding Moira River in 1936. An unusually prolonged rain on March 10 caused severe flooding at Belleville where two hundred were made homeless, business was dislocated, traffic stopped, and damage amounted to $250,000.

World War II brought the depression to an abrupt end, but this cure was far worse than the disease. On Sunday, September 3, 1939, radio flashed the grim word across Canada that Great Britain and France had declared war on Germany. County residents were moved as King George VI, recently returned from his tour of Canada, appealed for Imperial unity. Still, the war seemed a great distance off, and local residents proceeded with their plans for the Labour Day holiday weekend.

Gathering of the Ku Klux Klan near Belleville. The Klan, apparently active from about 1925 to 1936, was described as "Protestant and of good character".

At the beginning of this century, cigar stores could usually be recognized by the wooden Indian standing outside. Fenn's cigar store and barber shop was no exception. This store at 276 Front Street, Belleville, advertised Varsity and El Padre cigars at five cents each.

Chief Petawawa-Much, the Indian mascot of the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment. Carved by Abe Patterson of Pembroke, he stands seven feet eight inches high on his pedestal.

Fair weather with temperatures in the high seventies brought out the fishermen and some fine catches were recorded. A Belleville fisherman landed a twenty-six pound muskellunge in the Bay of Quinte, and on Moira Lake two anglers fought a twenty-one pound muskie for almost an hour. Yet, the response to war was underway. Appeals for volunteers for the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment were posted throughout the county. At Madoc and Trenton, officers of the regiment had already placed their units on a war footing and were processing recruits.

Our war record was a proud one. Our women staffed industries and farms and supplied comforts for the troops. The children purchased war savings stamps. People on the home front accepted the inevitable rationing, although the hoarding of sugar reached such a proportion early in the war that the newspapers had to warn the citizens to stop this act of which they might later be 'heartily ashamed". The county's young men served overseas with distinction. The exploits of the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment in the Sicilian and Italian campaigns are dramatically described in Farley Mowat's *The Regiment*. Mowat served as the battalion's intelligence officer and lived the events recorded in this unusual regimental history.

Again the announcement of peace set off gigantic celebrations in all the towns and hamlets. School children dismissed from school on V.E.

(Victory Europe) Day paraded, flags waving. Motorists, despite the gasoline ration and the patched-up tires, took to the highways to celebrate the end of Hitler's rule. Then, on a cloudy but memorable October 4, 1945, the First Battalion of the "Hasty Pees" marched proudly through Belleville's streets to the armouries for final dismissal.

It was an optimistic county that looked forward to the peace, anticipating that wartime prosperity would be continued. These expectations generally have been realized. There has been a steady growth of industry, agriculture, and mining. The discovery of uranium in the Bancroft area caused a boom in the 1950's, and, despite a slump, the industry promises to regain its former importance in the next few years.

The increase in county population and assessment led to an enlarged and enlightened council. The Suffragette Movement gained a victory in 1963 when Mrs. Audrey Sexsmith became the deputy reeve of the village of Bancroft and the first woman member of county council. (Earlier, Mrs. J. H. Forrester had served as mayor of Belleville in 1956-57.)

County government has gained in importance during the past decade, and the county has established an enviable record. Following the rebuilding of the Court House and Administration Offices, a unified assessment programme was established. The council, through a private bill, acquired part ownership in the Belleville General Hospital, and a nine million dollar expansion programme (in co-operation with the City of Belleville) is now being completed. A joint Board of Health encompassing the county of Hastings, the city of Belleville, and the county of Prince Edward is another service to be provided on a county basis. At the present time, a second home for the aged is being built in the village of Bancroft, and the present home at Belleville has been enlarged to provide accommodation for 250 residents.

The province's amalgamation of many local school sections to form township school areas was a significant development. The county has gone even further and has amalgamated the thirteen northern townships plus the village of Bancroft into one school area. Further consolidation and improvements in the rest of the county are planned.

The Bay of Quinte District High School Board, formed in the 1950's, was an early and successful attempt at unification. Co-operation between the three levels of government has led to composite secondary schools throughout the county.

Co-operation with neighbouring counties is also increasing, and present plans call for a four county jail to replace century old facilities at Belleville, Kingston, Napanee and Picton. In the event that larger regions for local government are established in the future by the provincial government, Hastings County, by virtue of its past record and present leadership, will have a major role to play.

Chapter 39

Trenton

"Trent is a flourishing village . . . I am not aware indeed, that there is any place in Canada, in which more energy and spirit are displayed."

(Traveller quoted in Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, Nov. 8, 1834)

The town of Trenton is located at the mouth of the historic Trent-Severn Waterway. This waterway has played an important role in the town's history. Among the first to map the Trent River as the southern part of an ancient Indian canoe route between the Bay of Quinte and Georgian Bay was the French explorer Samuel de Champlain. His arrival, in 1615, introduced the French to the beauty of the region. Traditionally, Champlain is said to have climbed Trenton's Mount Pelion for a better view of the countryside; however, his journals do not support this legend. A later explorer, the Abbe Galinee, gave the river the name *Tanaote*, and maps in the 1680's called it *Sagetewedgwam* (or *Sagattawegawah*).

In 1788, Captain John W. Meyers, sometimes called the founder of Belleville, petitioned the government for fifteen acres and a mill site near the mouth of the stream called *Sogudywitohevon*, usually thought to be the Trent. When this petition was refused, Meyers moved to Belleville, after attempting briefly to operate a mill on a small stream east of Trenton.

About 1790, the Trent River took its present name, perhaps from the river in England, and for many years the settlement at its mouth was known as Trent Port.

Among the first settlers was John R. Bleecker, a son-in-law of Captain John W. Meyers. About 1790, Bleecker secured land at the mouth of the Trent and built a log house at Bleecker's Grove. He served as a sort of Indian agent, carried on a trade with the Indians, and operated a ferry across the river until his death in 1807. His wife later kept an inn and continued to operate the ferry service. Another prominent settler was James Smith, sometimes regarded as the first permanent settler at Trent Port; in 1790, he drew land on the east bank of the Trent and erected a log house at the base of Bunker Hill. In 1794, James Smith sold his property to Henry Ripson, who built the first grist mill.

The majority of the early settlers homesteaded on the west bank of the Trent River, on land that was then a part of Northumberland County. Settlement on the east bank lagged behind. However, in 1803, John Strachan, later to become the first Anglican bishop of Toronto, bought the broken front of the gore of Sidney Township, which he later surveyed and laid out in town lots about 1829, naming it Annwood (or Anne Wood). Strachan actively promoted this area's development by en-

couraging craftsmen to locate there and in 1831 by attempting — unsuc-
cessfully — to have the Marmora Iron Works establish warehouses and
perhaps an ore smelter on part of his land. Annwood later merged with
Trenton.

The first really successful merchant was Adam Henry Meyers (1780-
1832). A native of Hanover in Germany, Meyers settled at Trent Port
in 1805. A mile from the mouth of the river, he built saw and grist
mills, and in 1808, his purchase of the Ripson mill and the establish-
ment of a general store made him the most successful Trenton merchant.
His son, also named Adam Henry Meyers (1812-76), was a distinguish-
ed Trenton lawyer, and as a "staunch and honest Tory of the old school"
and a member of parliament for Northumberland was a strong supporter
and friend of Sir John A. Macdonald.

The dense cedar swamp gradually receded as the pioneers built their
homes, shops, and mills. After the War of 1812, Sheldon Hawley (1795-
1868) took up land on the east side of the river. His genius for organi-
zation and planning helped Trenton prosper and, as noted in the chapter
on early government, almost led to Trenton becoming the district town
for the Victoria District in 1839. Hawley commanded the village militia
during the unrest of 1837-38, and with Strachan was a founder of Tren-
ton's St. George's Anglican Church in 1845.

Sheldon Hawley, a founder of Trenton.

Perhaps Sheldon Hawley's greatest moments came in the mid-thirties
with the completion of a bridge across the Trent, the laying out of a
town site, and the beginning of work on the Trent Canal. For ten years
Hawley had urged the provincial government to undertake such projects.
For example, he argued that the main road from Kingston to Toronto
was interrupted at the Trent and travellers had to cross in one of Mrs.
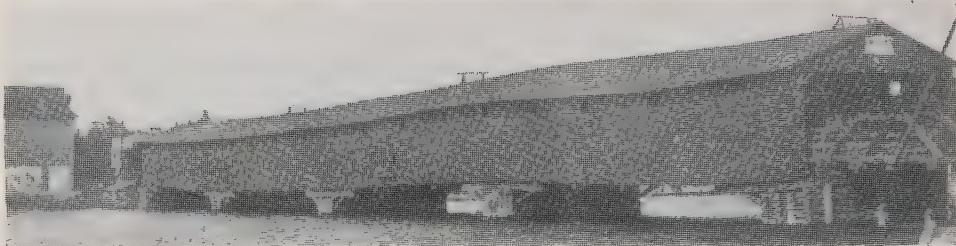
Trenton's "Old Bridge", as it appeared in 1907.

Trenton's "New Bridge", as it appeared in the 1920's.

Bleecker's ferries. Such crossings occasionally ended in tragedy, as when Thurlow Township shoemaker Simeon Ellice slipped from the scow and drowned on June 24, 1817. Other citizens drowned while crossing on the ice in winter. Until a bridge was built such accidents would continue and the two settlements on the opposite banks would remain disunited. A united community would be an advantage, and the resulting trade and prosperity might lead to the improvement of the Trenton harbour, described in 1822 by Robert Gourlay as "the best harbour" on the Bay of Quinte. Although the provincial parliament was prepared to spend £100 on the bridge project in 1824, the amount was shown to be inadequate and the start was delayed. In 1827, surveyor John Smith recommended that a toll bridge be built; this would return good dividends and greatly aid travellers, he claimed. Smith's report must have encouraged Hawley, who was just then offering town lots for sale in Annwood, whose situation on the east bank of the river he described as "pleasant and healthy". Renewed requests were made to the government, and, in 1833, the province agreed to finance the bridge. Ezra Church and Dean S. Howard were named the builders, and by January, 1834, they had raised the bridge's abutments and five substantial piers six feet above the water. The completed bridge was 750 feet long and 32 feet wide with a foot way and double carriage ways, similar to the bridge at Kingston. There was a 40 foot wide draw-bridge. A Picton paper noted: "The whole of the bridge, excepting over the Draw-bridge, to be covered with a substantial roof, projecting 2½ feet beyond the bridge on each side, and the sides of the bridge will also be boarded from the bottom to within 2½ feet of the roof, which space is left for the free admission of light and air." Travellers were not admitted freely, and a toll house was built so that the province could recover

part of the costs from the users. Although original agreements called for the contractors to receive £3,215, this figure was exceeded. In January, 1835, Reuben White, a prominent Sidney pioneer, complained that the contractors' had already received £3,515 but were petitioning parliament for more; that the superintendent had been paid £100, but wanted more; and that one man had gone to jail because of the episode. Criticism continued in the Kingston paper which pointed out that, although the new bridge was very fine, it should have been built six hundred feet further north so that a spacious harbour could have been obtained. Casting doubt on the honesty of the persons responsible for the bridge's location, the paper continued: "We sincerely hope that no private interest has been allowed to interfere with the public weal." Most observers agreed with the traveller who, in 1834, commented favourably on the bridge's appearance and spoke of it as "the finest bridge in Upper Canada".

The same traveller spoke enthusiastically about the village's prospects: "Trent is a flourishing village . . . may contain about four hundred inhabitants. There is here a school-house and a place of worship, belonging to the Church of Rome. Stores, taverns and workshops are starting up in every direction, and the whole appearance of the place, augurs well of its speedily becoming one of the most important towns in the Province."

Pleasant though it may have appeared, Trenton was a troubled centre. A small group of unruly citizens made things difficult for the peaceable inhabitants. Mob rule almost prevailed in the 1831 Christmas season when a "party of the lower orders of Irish" attempted to rescue a debtor who had been placed under arrest by the deputy sheriff. The mob broke down the door "with an intent to murder the officer", but the constable, though knocked to the floor and stamped upon, managed to draw a pistol and shoot one of the attackers. The other assailants fled. This unruly element so terrorized the community that it was difficult to capture the attackers. The Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette* noted on January 15, 1831: "These kind of outrages have been so frequent here, that one of the most able and respected Innkeepers, Mr. Ford, was lately induced to take down his sign, and abandon his dwelling and business; a later conflict in his house having nearly cost another man his life, which perhaps was only saved by the promptitude and courage of Mr. Robertson a neighbouring Storekeeper, and others." Such lawlessness was not uncommon in pioneer times.

To establish law and order, Sheldon Hawley and the other settlers in 1834 sought to have a town site laid out on the west bank of the Trent on about forty acres of clergy reserve land. The petitioners also asked that a section of land be set aside so that weekly markets and quarterly or annual fairs could be held. These facilities, it was explained, would "stimulate the industry of the poorer class of Agricultural Settlers". The

government's answer was to order a survey of the site and to lay out a town plot. The survey was completed with some difficulty, since the surveyor was faced by a "thick cedar swamp" over most of the area and a "high, steep hill". The plot was named Trent by Lieutenant-Governor Colborne, and on June 15, 1836, the first town lots were offered for sale by public auction. The village included land within the broken front of Sidney Township and the first concession of Murray Township.

In February, 1837, Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head appointed the village a port of entry and clearance for trading vessels and revived the name of Trent Port. Visiting the village later in 1837, Oxford professor Charles Daubeny commented on the "very comfortable accommodations" at Trent Port. In May, 1837, a group of persons, meeting to encourage government participation in the Trent Canal project, further testified to the excellent local accommodation; a "degree of gloom" hanging over the meeting was removed by an excellent dinner and thirty toasts. The madeira and champagne produced so much "good humour and hilarity among the company, that the steamboat . . . had to ring her bell for getting up steam more than twice or three times . . . before they could be induced to break up".

The 1850's witnessed the emergence of Trenton as a full-fledged community. By a proclamation on September 25, 1852, Trenton became a village. Alexander McAuley served as first reeve. In 1854, Alexander Begg published and edited the first newspaper, *The Advocate*. *Lippincott's Gazetteer* in 1856 listed a grammar school, three or four other schools, and manufacturers of cloth, leather, iron, flour, and timber; the village's population was about fifteen hundred persons. A dozen saloons and taverns catered to the public by 1858.

Trenton's first municipal seal, used in the 1850's.

Trenton's chief industry was the timber trade and the village was described in 1851 as a miniature Bytown (Ottawa). In 1852, the Gilmour Company's saw mill ushered in an important epoch. A large business was done in the rafting of square timber, and nearly four million cubic feet were shipped to the Quebec market in 1860. Timber from as far away as the counties of Perth and Peterborough was brought to

Trenton for processing. To the United States market went almost fourteen million feet of sawed lumber a year.

Throughout this pre-Confederation period, Trenton was remarkable for its long covered bridge and the quantity of lumber. The gradual building of the Trent Canal caused much excitement but little reward.

The first county directory (1860-61) described a present landmark: "There is a Town Hall built of stone, 60 x 40 feet, of some architectural pretensions, having a council chamber, ante-room, &c. in the second story. The lower story is occupied with butchers' stalls, clerk's office, and lock-up. Around it is an open space with hay scales, fire engine house, and ground for outside market."

Trenton's Town Hall and Market Building, showing a busy market day, 1907.

About 1875, Robert Weddell established one of the town's most important industries, the Trenton Bridge and Engine Works. This plant soon consisted of a boiler shop, foundry, machine shop, and bridge building establishment. Here were manufactured some of the finest iron bridges in the county — for Foxboro, Frankford, and other centres. The firm also specialized in dredge and steamboat construction. Another boat-building firm was the Gilmour Company, which as early as the summer of 1864 launched a 115 foot schooner.

The village of Trenton became the town of Trenton on January 1, 1881, although the celebration was held the previous Dominion Day. Trenton annexed land and the entire town formed a part of Hastings County. Dr. H. W. Day was the town's first mayor.

The beginning of the Murray Canal project caused an expansion of local business. Then in 1885-86, the waters of the Trent were dammed, just below the Grand Trunk Railway bridge, and this $50,000 expendi-

Robert Weddell, founder of the Trenton Bridge and Engine Works and Trenton fire chief.

ture created 10,000 horse power of electric power. The inexhaustible supply of water, the increasing importance of electricity, the town's good position, and the spacious harbour with its expanding lines of docks created an optimism by 1890: "Three daily steamers and one weekly steamer ply between Trenton and bay ports and Montreal. The Grand Trunk Railway and the Central Ontario Railway connect Trenton with the rest of the world."

The present century has seen a continuation of Trenton's slow, steady growth. Although the closing of the Gilmour Lumber Company set back progress temporarily, about 1908 the town began to revive. The price of real estate advanced, cement walks were built, and some streets were newly graded. Several new factories located in town, including Lloyd's Baby Carriage Company, the Canadian Pearl Button Company (now the municipal office building), and a concentrator to extract metal from the ore shipped in from the mines of north Hastings.

The coming of the Canadian Northern Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1912 created a sensation. A monster parade was held through the streets, but the day turned out less than satisfactory. Railway
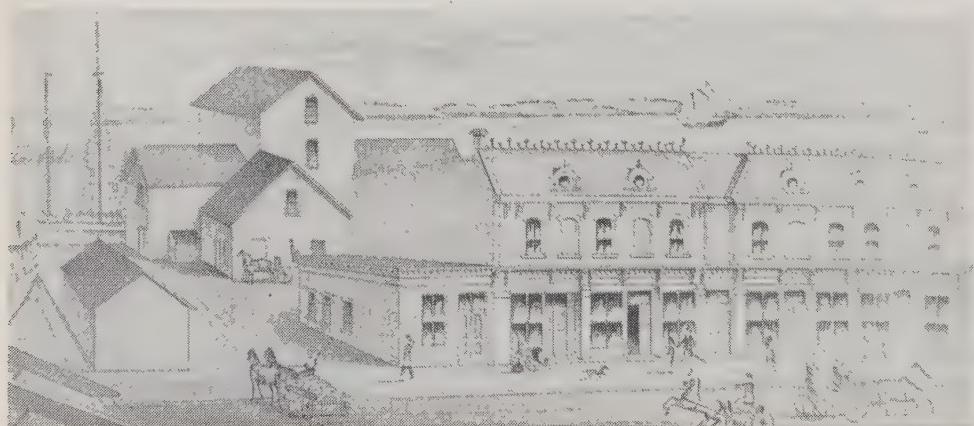
The elevator and buildings of William Jeff, grain merchant, as they appeared in 1878.

officials and local dignitaries, riding out in their open touring cars to the station, were delayed as the cars sank to their hubs in the mud. Those lucky individuals taking advantage of the free excursion to Toronto found their progress halted at Colborne when the special train was derailed. Nonetheless, these railroads caused a boom before the Great War. The Canadian Northern built a roundhouse for fifteen locomotives, and the Canadian Pacific announced plans for a forty-four stall roundhouse. Many substantial frame houses were built to accommodate the railroad employees, and the merchants enjoyed an expanded trade.

The World War I era was a particularly important one in Trenton. The British Chemical Company settled on the Bunker Hill site in 1915, and the explosion of that plant in 1918 was a major Canadian news story. W. H. Ireland, Trenton's wartime mayor, represented the riding of West Hastings in the provincial government after the war. He became the Conservative party's "Whip", serving under Premier Howard Ferguson.

Dundas Street, Trenton, 1905. At the left was S. B. McClung and Company, selling hardware, stoves, and tinware. A mounted horseman can be seen at the right approaching the bridge.

Probably the most prominent political figure in Trenton's history was Senator W. A. Fraser. A lifelong resident of Trenton, he served in the Canadian House of Commons prior to his Senate appointment. Senator Fraser was responsible for the location of many of Trenton's industries, and his efforts played a large part in the selection of Sidney Township as the site for an important air station.

Today, Trenton, with almost fifteen thousand persons, is the second largest municipality in the county. Its excellent position, water resources, and diversified industry suggest that this will remain one of the province's leading towns.

Chapter 40

Sidney Township

"From the fertility and variety of its soil, this Township has justly obtained the name of the garden of Upper Canada."

Sidney Township was named in honour of Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sidney (1732-1800), who was British Secretary of State at the time the United Empire Loyalists arrived on the Bay of Quinte.

In 1787, the first two concessions of Sidney Township were surveyed by Louis Kotte and the contest began to see who would get the choice lands. Among the early settlers on Concession I were Captain Marsh, Captain John W. Meyers and his four sons, John Scott, George Smith, Abel Gilbert, the Chrysdales, and the Ostroms. Later came the Zwick, Vandervoort, White, Finkle, and Graham families. On Lot thirteen, there grew a settlement known as Rhinebeck, which boasted a tavern, a blacksmith shop, a large store, and a group of houses. This settlement formed the nucleus for the present community of Bayside. On Concession II, the Hogle, Row, Simmons, Gilbert, Vanderwater and Farley families were prominent early settlers. The west end of Concession III was soon known as Johnstown after John Smith, John Lott, and John Stickle settled there. Concession IV became the home of several prominent settlers by 1800, notably William Ketcheson and his four sons.

The first township merchant was probably William Bell, who carried on trade near the Moira River with both the white settlers and the Indians. In 1791, he brought in the first apple trees to be found in this part of the country. Apparently Bell gave too much credit, since his Kingston partner in 1790 instructed him to insist upon payment — either in cash or wheat: 'Do not spare a potato to any one soul . . . Spare no salt to anyone, as none is to be had here (Kingston), but at a very dear rate." Fortunately, by 1805, salt deposits were found on the east bank of the Trent.

From about 1794 to 1798, Sidney and Thurlow townships were united for the purpose of local government. The inhabitants held a single annual town meeting to appoint officials. The town meetings also dealt with other business; hogs were to be confined from May 1 to December 1, and a minimum height was set for fences. Sidney, having given Thurlow a fair start, then launched Thurlow forth on its independent career. In 1801, Sidney took Rawdon Township under its wing and until about 1820 Rawdon was a sort of junior partner in the town meeting business. The Meyers and Ketcheson families played a major role in township government: Captain John W. Meyers was named the first moderator (chairman) in 1790; and the meetings were often held in the Ketcheson schoolhouse, Ketcheson's Inn, or Ketcheson's Store, all in the Wallbridge area.

Farming was the major industry, and by 1805 the local farmers had a reputation for growing good wheat. Lumbering, a close second in importance, was creating a problem. Many persons were cutting timber illegally on government reserve lands, and in 1809, surveyor Henry Smith complained that unless the government "finds a speedy remedy there will not be a valuable stick of Pine or Oak Timber left on any of the reserved Lands in these parts". Even as he wrote, a school reserve (Lot nineteen, Concession I) was being attacked. Similarly, in 1812, when William Gilkison of Prescott offered for sale three hundred acres of "well timbered land" at the mouth of the Trent and four hundred acres in Concession IV, he also offered a £10 reward for information leading to the arrest of those persons cutting timber illegally on these lands.

The task of erecting a barn was important in pioneer days. This barn was erected in Sidney Township, just west of Belleville.

Despite the timber and wheat, conditions were often difficult. As late as 1816, a Sidney farmer of some means made a winter journey to Kingston wearing nothing on his feet but a pair of shoes and trousers strapped down to keep his ankles warm; appropriate leather boots cost too much money.

By May 1, 1819, the population for the combined townships of Sidney and Rawdon stood at 1,387, of whom over half were under 16 years of age. This indicated the short life expectancy and the large size of many families. Despite the separation of Rawdon, in 1821, Sidney remained the most heavily populated township in the county: 1353 persons compared to 1193 in Thurlow. Assessment records paint an interesting though incomplete picture of Sidney in 1821. About 7,000 acres of land were worked. There were 61 framed dwellings, 10 squared timber homes, 4 brick or stone dwellings and 3 saw mills. Livestock consisted of 296 horses, 157 oxen, 589 cows, and 246 horned cattle. Although Sidney continued to expand, it ceased to be the most populated township after 1824; in that year Sidney had 1730 and Thurlow 1762 inhabitants.

Possibly the first church erected in the township was the Anglican Church erected midway between Belleville and Trenton in the 1820's. Reverend Thomas Campbell, the energetic minister of St. Thomas Anglican Church in Belleville, was largely responsible for this venture. He
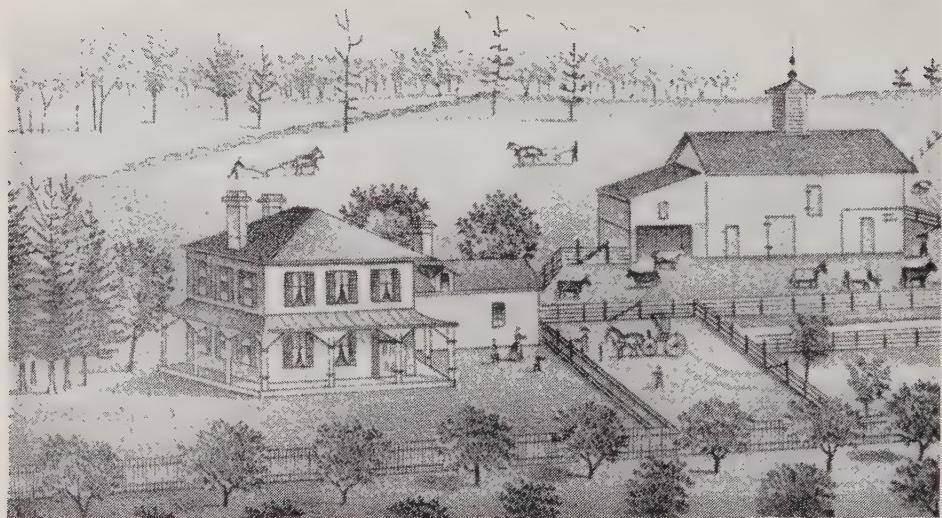
A prosperous Sidney Township farm as drawn in 1878. The stylized appearance of the farm animals and orchard trees was typical of the drawings prepared for the county atlases of that period.

conducted afternoon services every second Sabbath, but the congregation was never large. Another pioneer church was White's Church at Bayside. Erected by the Episcopal Methodists in 1841, this church stood on land purchased by Reuben White, who was a mill owner and sawed the lumber for the church.

Visitors to the township were most impressed. Thomas Rolph wrote in 1835: "The beautiful headlands of the Bay of Quinte, and the lovely and romantic scenery along the banks of the Trent to Rawdon, is more completely British than anything I have witnessed in the Province. There is abundance of fine land in the townships of Sidney, Rawdon . . ." In 1837, *The Intelligencer* described the township as the "garden of Upper Canada" and noted that there were numberless locations for good mill sites; already in operation were three grist mills and three saw mills. The chief agricultural products were all sorts of grain, apples, currants, plums, strawberries, raspberries, and so on. *The Intelligencer* concluded: "Perhaps there is not another Rural township in the Province, so well off for school houses and schools, there are at present 20; of course this leads to the natural consequence, that there is but little intoxication, and of course but poor encouragement for Taverns, — the Township has but one, and no Distillery."

Sidney was indeed a temperance centre. On June 11, 1845, the Sidney Third Concession Temperance Society held a meeting at the school house near Caleb Gilbert's farm for the purpose of "Temperance and of taking Tea together in the Grove". The party came off in "first rate style", as did similar events held at that time.

By 1850, Sidney reported ten saw mills and two grist mills. Production included 58,000 bushels of wheat, 27,000 bushels of oats, 24,000 pounds of maple sugar, 17,000 pounds of wool, and 15,000 pounds of

cheese. The road between Belleville and Stirling was being planked, and about half the road between the Trent and the Moira also had been planked. In 1850, an observer commented critically on the appearance of the Front Road: "Many of the houses and farm buildings on the first portion of the road between the Trent and Belleville have an untidy, dilapidated, poverty-stricken look about them. The clearings are generally sufficiently extensive, but their appearance, combined with that of the buildings, gives an impression that the farms are badly managed. As you approach Belleville, the aspect of things improves, and both farms and buildings appear in better condition."

The early fifties witnessed a marked increase in population, and about 1855 the township's settlement may be said to have been completed. Around 1873, a population peak of slightly over 5,000 was reached; this fell to a little over 4,000 in 1900 and to below 3,000 during the Great Depression.

Township government has centred in or around the community of Wallbridge. Located about the centre of the township and taking its name from a family with extensive lumbering and business interests in the area, Wallbridge was the site of the township hall after 1850. This building was described (1878) as a 'good substantial, commodious building, with ample shed room for the teams of the ratepayers". In the 1870's, Wallbridge acquired one of the first cheese factories in the Moira Watershed. Today, the area east of Wallbridge is the site of the new township hall, built as Sidney's Centennial project. The new hall and municipal office building, replacing the earlier one which burned in 1943, was erected in 1966. The first council meeting was held on September 23, 1966, although the official opening took place in 1967. Fortunately, most early township records survived the 1943 fire.

About eight miles from Belleville, on the road to Stirling, a thriving community grew up in the early and mid nineteenth century. This was Vanburg Post Office, named after the Vandewater (Vanderwater) family. In the 1860's, Elias Vandewater manufactured farm machinery including a celebrated mower and reaper, a gang plow, and a horse rake, all of which took prizes at the Kingston Fair. He also operated the Hastings Nursery which offered "a large and choice stock of nursery fruit trees". Later, this settlement was called Chatterton, although the community school has been known traditionally as the Marsh Hill School because of its geographical position.

Also in the Confederation Era, the settlement known as Centenary took a step ahead when the Methodist Episcopal Church was opened (1868). In this church the pulpit stood high above the congregation. Prominent families at Centenary included the Gilberts, Vanderwaters, and Goldsmiths.

In the northern section of the township, the Oak Hill Range was surveyed and settled after the five southern concessions. The Sine Settle-

ment on lots twenty-three and twenty-four of Concession VI was among the first areas settled.

The lands northwest of the Oak Hills usually had closer ties with Trenton than with Belleville. This was because of the hilly barrier, the natural Trent waterway, and the building of the Central Ontario Railway to the west of the Trent. This was an important timber region in the early days of settlement as giant spars were taken out for masts for the British navy. One centre for this lumber trade was a hotel built by Lewis Rose-bush (often referred to as Lewis Bush) and his father, Joseph Rosebush. About the 1790's, the Rosebush family had settled near the River Valley community along the Trent. The fireplace in this hotel (later called Rainbow Lodge) was capable of burning eight foot logs, and there was a ballroom on the second floor. Around the hotel developed a small village consisting of a cobbler's shop, blacksmith shop, and bake oven; later a saw mill, a grist mill, and a woollen mill were added to the community. White fish and salmon were plentiful in Rawdon Creek, and the story is handed down that a woman used a plank with spikes to haul them out. Until 1881,this community was called Sager's Corners, after settler Michael Sager. When a new brick school, the fourth school, was built in 1881 at a cost of $900, the name of River Valley was adopted, at the suggestion of Mrs. Charles Morrow. The new school, like others throughout the county, served as a community centre and as a church from which funerals were held.

Original Township seal approved in 1850.

Near River Valley, the Waterloo Flour Mill, a four story frame building, was operated by miller Edward Rowbottom. The neighbours felt that the original builder, a Mr. Crask, had been foolish to build a mill on a stream a person could jump across; however, the mill enjoyed many good years.

The River Valley Road (formerly called Pig Street) links River Valley with the Oak Hills. The road is said to have received its early name after an irate settler took a shot at some roving pigs that were causing damage; one pig went home the worse for wear. On this road was a factory where wooden pumps were made. Six foot logs were hand-bored with a three inch auger, until horse power was adapted to operate the auger.

An impressive feature of the township is the Oak (Hill) Lake. An authority in 1878 reported that the lake had "no apparent outlet, neither
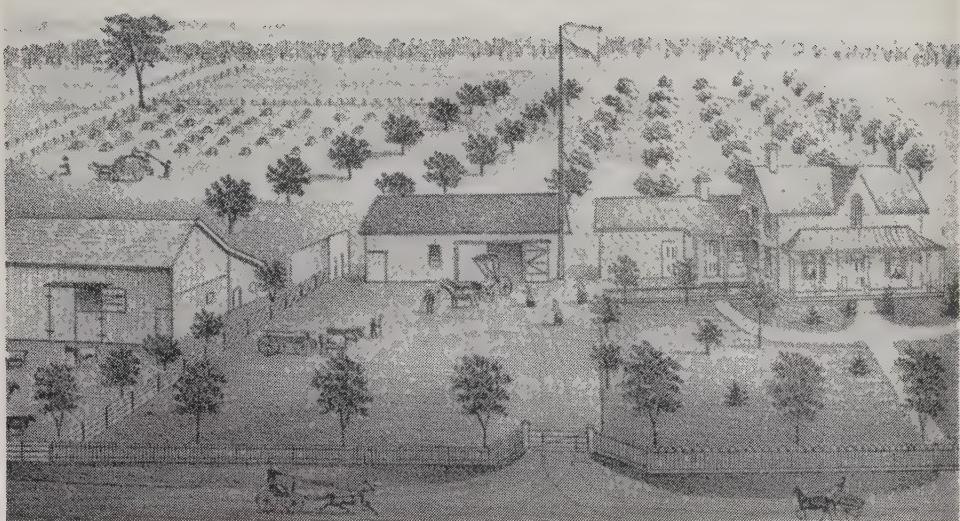
Farm Residence of James P. Sharp, Con. IV, Lot 22, Sidney Township, 1878.

has any visible means of supply ever been discovered". More recently, underground springs have been found to feed the lake. About the turn of the century, a plan by the village of Stirling to obtain water from Oak Lake led to a trench being dug from the lake. However, the scheme was abandoned because of the possible effect on the lake's water level.

West of Oak Lake is the Money Hole. According to a nineteenth century legend, an early trader is said to have buried his wealth in a deerskin bag when he learned that the Indians were out to seek revenge on him for cheating them. The trader then fled and did not return to claim his money. From time to time the plough has turned up some coins, and the legend persists.

Chisholm's Rapids in the northwest corner of the township on the north bank of the Trent was an important lumber centre before 1830. About 1859, at the peak of the local lumber trade, a town plot was laid out on the north bank of the river; and on the south bank, Clement Armstrong attempted to establish Tupperville, but without much success. A proposed rail line from Belleville to Georgian Bay was scheduled to cross the Trent River at this point and a station was planned just north of the river. This was named Rossford Station, perhaps in honour of John Ross, president of the Grand Trunk Railway in the 1850's. Later, the area on the Trent came to be known as Glen Ross. A stone school was erected in 1873 and Carmel Church followed in 1875. At one time the community possessed an iron foundry, a lime kiln, and flour, cloth, and lumber mills. By 1913, the saw and grist mills, the last surviving industrial buildings, were demolished.

Two new communities have developed in the twentieth century — Batawa and Middleton Park. Both were created by the Second World War. Batawa was established after a Czechoslovakian businessman, Thomas Bata,

saw his country fall under Hitler's rule in 1939. Bata decided that this site on the west bank of the Trent would be suitable for the Canadian branch of his world-wide chain of shoe factories. Production started in an old abandoned paper mill in the neighbouring village of Frankford, and in 1940, the first portion of the building programme at Batawa was completed. The first church, the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred
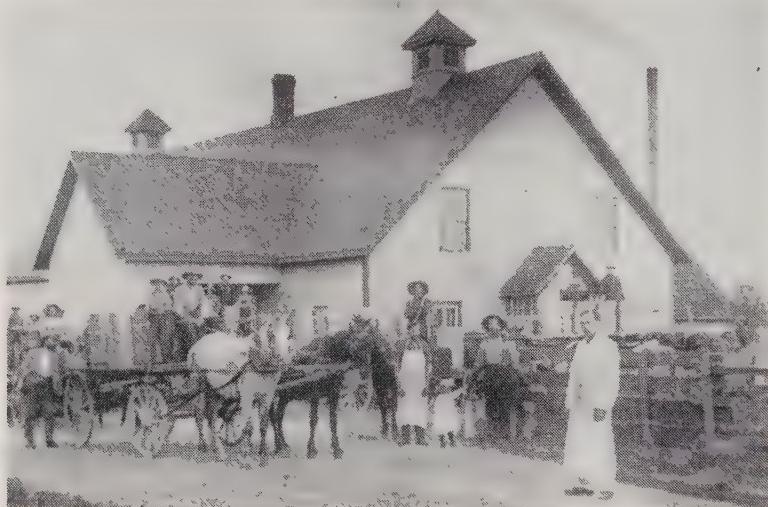
Among the prominent cheese factories in Hastings County was this one on the third concession of Sidney Township. The cheese maker was T. H. Irwin. (Circa 1910).

Heart, was completed in the spring of 1943, to be followed by a United Church. Batawa is a company town, although it now has a private-owner subdivision known as Sidney Crescent. The Bata Company arranges for the policing of the village and operates the sewage department; in other respects it is responsible to Sidney Township. The second community, Middleton Park, was established by the federal government in the mid-1940's to house air force personnel. Air Station Trenton had been founded in 1929-30 to be the air force's main flying training station. At that time, some married quarters were built on the south side of Highway Number 2, and the station was first occupied by the air force personnel in August, 1931.

Today, Sidney Township is a good agricultural region, although an increasing number of its inhabitants work in Belleville, Trenton and other centres. It is providing improved services for its residents. For example, in 1962, the township established its own volunteer fire department and purchased a modern engine, which is stationed at Batawa. The township's position with respect to the Trent Canal system is making it a popular tourist region. Recreation has become a vital part of the landscape, with the Oak Hill Flying Club (started on the pioneer Richardson homestead), the skiing centres, and the golf courses.

Chapter 41

Frankford .

*"The flourishing hamlet at the mouth of Cold Creek,
is deserving, both from its size and situation, of being
better known than it appears to be at present."*

(Thomas Rolph, 1836)

Eight miles north of Trenton on the Trent River is the village of
Frankford. Although little is known of its early history, it would appear
that the area attracted attention as early as 1815 for its location at the
head of the Nine-Mile Rapids, a dangerous section of the Trent River
between Frankford and Trenton. In the 1820's, Abel Scott built a grist
mill and saw mill at this site, making use of the waters of Cold Creek,
which stream had a fall of several feet at its mouth.

About 1833, W. R. Bowen, a magistrate and merchant from Richmond
Township near Napanee, arrived and took the lead in developing the
community. At James Conner's Inn in December, 1833, Bowen chaired
a meeting called to discuss a possible bridge across the Trent near Cold
Creek. The project was described as "highly desirable", since this was
one of the few places free from rapids. A subscription list was opened
with Abel Scott as treasurer. Others taking part in the fund-raising cam-
paign were Joseph N. Lockwood, John Finkle, A. Tompkins, Robert Perry,
John Huffman, Thomas Ketcheson and Oliver N. Fraser. So successful
were they in enlisting both private and public support that the bridge was
completed early in 1836.

Thanks to the activities of Bowen and Scott, the community grew
rapidly in the mid-thirties. A visitor noted in 1835: "Houses have been
put up as it were by magic, mechanics of all kinds have established them-
selves, two taverns have been opened, and trade of all kinds seems to be
far more brisk than in many other places three times its size."

The community had no official name in 1835. Most persons called
it Scott's Mills, from its original proprietor; others called it Cold Creek,
from the name of the creek; and a few were willing to name it Water-
ford, from the existence of the safe and convenient ford. A visitor to
the settlement, Thomas Rolph, suggested that a village meeting be held
to select a name and that a petition might then be sent to the provincial
government requesting that the name be approved and that a post office
be set up. This post office, he noted, would benefit the villagers who
carry on an "extensive trade in lumber" and also the "number of re-
spectable and wealthy gentlemen settled down in the country back of
Cold Creek". They would no longer have to travel to Trent Port to post
letters, a difficult task at times, since although there was a road on either
bank of the river to the mouth of the Trent, neither was very good. Of

the two, that on the west bank was "the best and most frequented", according to Rolph.

The villagers followed Rolph's suggestion. In December, 1836, they petitioned the government to name the settlement Frankford, probably after Lieutenant-Governor Francis Bond Head, who was reported to have visited the area in 1836. The villagers also asked for permission to have semi-annual fairs. Both requests were granted; the community became a police village, with the right to hold its own fairs and markets. As of 1838, fairs were held on the first Tuesdays in April and October from nine o'clock to sunset.

Attempts in 1839 to have an Anglican Church erected were unsuccessful. Bishop Strachan felt that the settlement was too small for a minister. Moreover, Strachan's later visits to the village failed to change his feelings. In 1854, he described the "miserable attendance . . . perhaps the worst I ever experienced . . . and unless there be a very great change in Frankford . . . I dare not venture to send them a Clergyman." Nonetheless, Anglican, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches were built before 1880.

At one time there were five hotels in Frankford — Sweetman's, McCambridge's, the Clarke House (on the main corner), the Brennan Hotel, and the McDonald House. The North American Hotel is pictured, about 1910.

Frankford boomed in the 1840's. The head office for construction work on the lower part of the Trent Canal was in Brophy's Hotel in 1843. Lumbering flourished. Part of the district (county) court was at Frankford, rather than Belleville, and the district council gave permission for a girls' school to be established. On July 5, 1853, Frankford was designated as a police village.

By 1852, a gravel road had been completed between Trenton and Frankford. About the same time, the Belleville to Frankford Toll Road was opened.

Frankford was famous for its doctors. In the early 1840's, Irish poet and doctor James Haskins (1805-1845) practised at Frankford until his death. According to Susanna Moodie, Dr. Haskins fell victim to "that insidious enemy of souls, Canadian whisky". It was said that this man of

genius had entered into an agreement with another dissipated doctor to drink until they both died. The other man was found dead upon the floor of Dr. Haskins' shanty, while Haskins died a short time later. A noted doctor was Péter Martin, better known as Oronhyatekha (1841-1907). A Mohawk Indian, Oronhyatekha had attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales on his visit to Canada in 1860, and the Prince had invited him to continue his studies at Oxford University, where he qualified as a physician. On his return to Canada, he practised first at Frankford. He was elected first secretary of the Hastings County Medical Association, which he had helped to organize. Later, he headed the Independent Order of Foresters for twenty-six years and was a pioneer in fraternal insurance, serving as first president of the Canadian Fraternal Association. Other prominent doctors were H. W. Spafford in the 1850's and T. E. Pomeroy in the 1860's. As did most county doctors, Dr. Pomeroy operated his own drug store and sold all the first class patent medicines of the day. Unlike many other doctors, he also sold groceries, crockery, glass-ware, coal oil, and all types of staple goods.

NEW DRUG STORE

THE Subscriber wishes to inform the public that he has opened out a new Drug Store in the village of FRANKFORD, where may be found at all times a large and varied assortment of

DRUGS, MEDICINES, CHEMICALS,

and a great variety of Patent Medicines, all of which can be depended on as being genuine. Good *DYE STUFFS* of every description, Linseed Oil, superior Coal and Machine Oils, Paints, Colors, Varnishes, &c.

All kinds of SCHOOL BOOKS, STATIONERY, PERFUMERIES, FANCY GOODS, Combs, Brushes, &c., together with a general assortment of GROCERIES. All of which will be sold at very low prices, for READY PAY only.

Having had a long experience in the business, and being determined to sell very cheap, he hopes, by strict attention to his customers, to merit a fair share of public patronage.

Physicians' Prescriptions

carefully prepared at all hours. Give him a call, and Judge for yourselves.

RODERICK S. ROBLIN.

Frankford, Feb. 2nd, 1861.   25.3m

Release of Mortgage for sale at this office.

Frankford was a proud community in the 1860's. Its industries included two saw mills owned by the Messrs. Roblin, John S. Huffman's extensive woollen factory (capable of making 120 yards of cloth a day), Ostrom's Tannery, and a distillery carried on by Messrs. Turley and

Jordan, as well as a foundry, a pump factory, carriage shops, and two or three first-class country stores. The village could boast of having one of the finest school-houses in the county, a substantial stone building, 34 by 54 feet. There were also three very handsome churches with spires — two belonging to the Methodists and one to the Roman Catholics. The population had increased from 500 in 1850 to 600 in 1860 and 700 in 1865.

After the early 1860's, Frankford's growth fell off. By 1870, the population had dropped to about 500, at which figure it remained for the next few years. The village changed. A new bridge was erected across the Trent in 1869, at a cost of $4,239, but ice destroyed the bridge in 1904. From 1906 to 1914, the local section of the Trent Canal was constructed.
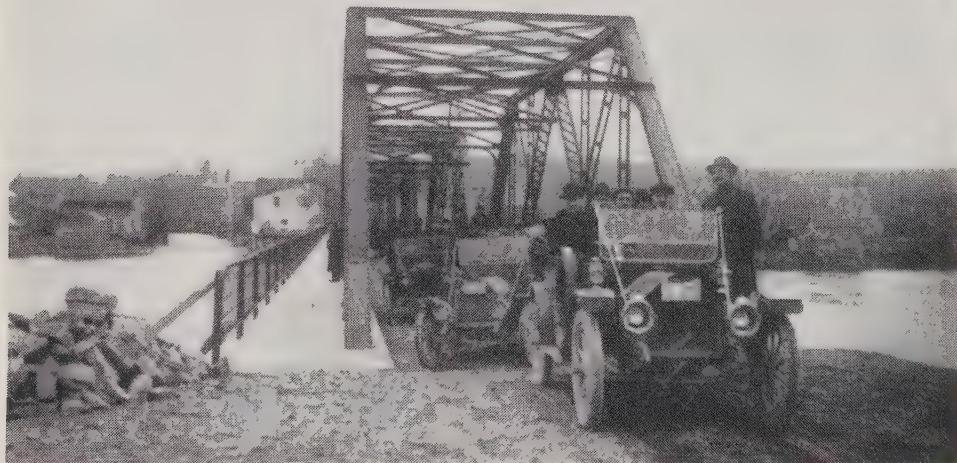
The opening of a new bridge at Frankford — before World War I.

Among the prominent industries in the late nineteenth century was E. G. Sills' paper mill, which employed as many as 175 employees. This mill operated until the Great Depression in the 1930's.

Frankford was incorporated as a village in 1920, Walter Windover serving as the first reeve, 1921. Since then, it has grown gradually until the population in 1967 is about 1,800. Improved services have been provided. Early in 1959, its water system and sewage disposal plant were placed in full operation. A new firehall became a reality in May, 1962. Frankford's gradual growth promises to continue, and the village will no doubt gain in importance.

Chapter 42

Thurlow Township

*"Thurlow . . . the soil is good, but being remote from
market, settles but slowly."*
(D'Arcy Boulton, 1805)

Thurlow Township is one of the original townships of Hastings
County. It is also one of the most important, since it has given birth to
the city of Belleville and has still managed to maintain its position as
the most heavily populated township throughout most of its history.

The township takes its name from Edward A. Thurlow, first Baron
of Thurlow (1731-1806), an outstanding British statesman who strongly
supported George III's policy during the American Revolution. About
him it was said: "No man ever was so wise as Thurlow looks."

In 1787, the first two concessions were surveyed by Louis Kotte, who
also surveyed the corresponding sections of Sidney. Kotte left Lot four
in the first concession as a reserve for a Mississauga burial ground, and
it was around this lot that the present city of Belleville has grown.

Even before Kotte's survey had been completed, some settlers had
arrived. Among these hardy Thurlow pioneers were George Single-
ton and Israel Ferguson, who, as noted earlier in the chapter on Meyers'
Creek, established a trading post, obtaining their trade goods from King-
ston.

Although a few land grants were made in 1788, no new settlers seem-
ed to have arrived until 1789. Then perhaps fifty persons, many of them
from Prince Edward County, moved up the Moira River to form a com-
pact settlement near Foxboro. These arrivals included John Taylor, Wil-
liam Reed (and four grown sons), Solomon Hazelton, Archibald McKen-
zie, Zedric Thrasher, Richard Smith, John and Conrad Frederick, and
Stephen and Laurence Badgley. Their coming coincided with the "Hungry
Year". For some time the Reeds were kept alive by a cow, basswood leaves,
and other greens.

In 1790, John Taylor returned to the front, where he purchased Lot
five from Singleton and became a founder of Belleville. Other settlers
along the front at that time included John Chisholm and David Vander-
heyden. They were followed by the Fairman, Bidwell and Johnson fam-
ilies. Among the early merchants along the front was Samuel Sherwood,
who engaged in trade from about 1791 to 1806 and also operated a
distillery for part of that time, according to his account book.

Despite the movement to the front concession, the Foxboro area re-
mained a leading centre. In preparing to survey the boundaries of Sid-
ney and Rawdon townships in 1793-94, surveyor W. Hambly wrote:
"Hired a Slay to take provision Seven Miles up Singletons Creek to Smiths

on the West line of Thurlow". Smiths became his base of operations, although the house was too small to accommodate all the party. After that time, the name Smithville seems to have been attached to the settlement. The "Smith" mentioned is sometimes thought to have been Smith Demorest (1774-1856), formerly of Duchess County, New York, who was a settler at Foxboro. Demorest was a blacksmith and his blacksmith shop stood behind his house. Because of his trade he could make nails, and as a result he was the first person in the district to build a house of clapboards, rather than logs. More likely, the settlement took its name from the family of Richard Smith, one of the township's first pioneers.

From 1794 to 1798, Thurlow and Sidney townships were united for municipal purposes. After that time, the former junior partner, Thurlow, was allowed to hold its own town meetings. The first of these, on March 5, 1798, elected Captain John McIntosh as clerk, while John Chisholm and William Reed were assessors, John Taylor was pound-keeper, and John Fairman was constable.

This portrait of Deborah Farley, daughter of James Farley and Deborah Dorland, is an example of primitive Canadian art. It was painted by a travelling artist who travelled through Thurlow in the 1840's.

In pioneer days, the number of still operators and tavern owners seems to have surpassed the number of general stores. For instance, in 1805, Henry Crumley, Joseph Woodward, Artimus Ross, Ruluff Ostrom and Z. Thrasher each operated one or more stills; Roswell Leavens, Margaret Simpson, and John Frederick were the tavern owners; while the only licensed shops were those of John McIntosh and Adam W. Meyers. The production of alcohol was so important that to seize a pair of stills operated illegally by one Elisha W——, the district still inspector had to use force.

Captain John W. Meyers was the first to use the waters of the Moira to drive his mills. His use of the river in 1790 was followed, about 1800, by the Reeds establishing a flouring mill on the sixth concession, just below the rapids. About 1812, the Reeds constructed a mill at what is

now Corbyville. Also about 1812, a flouring mill was built at Cannifton by the family of John Canniff, that community's founder who after 1806 had begun to clear part of an eight hundred acre section on the present site of Cannifton. Other mills soon followed, and the road on the east bank of the Moira to Canniff's Mills gradually improved until by the 1830's it reached the standard of the Kingston Road. The Cannifton road now replaced an older trail on the Moira's west bank as the main artery from Belleville to the back country.

Although he faced many problems and hardships, the pioneer took them in his stride. Consider the following obituary appearing in the *Kingston Gazette* of May 11, 1816:

"DIED. Universally lamented, early on Monday morning the 7th inst. MISS ELIZA LEAVENS, second daughter of Mr. Roswell Leavens, merchant in Thurlow, aged 11 years and 8 months. From early infancy she manifested a remarkably good disposition; being very dutiful to her parents, affectionate to her brothers and sisters, and courteous to her acquaintances; behaving with kindness to her inferiors, civility to her equals, and with respect and submission to her superiors. She was very ready to receive and retain pious impressions, ever constant in devotion, and possessed of uncommon consideration and knowledge of spiritual concerns . . . Deeply sensible of the vanity of this world, and confident of her title to a better portion, through the grace of the Redeemer, she looked forward with cheerful hope, to the period of her dissolution, until she fell asleep in Jesus, and entered into the joy of her Lord. Her memory is very precious, and it is hoped, that not a few of the youth will endeavour to emulate her worthy example."

Despite a high infant mortality rate, Thurlow continued to grow. By 1818, Robert Gourlay estimated that the township had 1200 persons who lived in 240 houses and patronized 16 stores, 7 taverns, 4 grist mills, and 6 saw mills. Four schools were available to educate the young and two doctors aided the sick. There were no churches or meeting houses; however, itinerant Methodist and Baptist ministers spread the Gospel in different parts of the township. The practice of letting land on shares was common, and a 200 acre farm would rent for £25 a year. Wages were lower than in most areas of the province; a blacksmith might receive £5 per month. Common labourers earned £30 per year. Women could be hired for five shillings a week, and many families must have had servants. Some prices were high; a work horse might cost £20, and uncleared land was 32 shillings an acre.

Gourlay's estimate of 1200 inhabitants in 1818 appears to have been an exaggeration. The 1819 district assessment showed only 872, and it was 1821 before the 1200 figure was reached. By 1824, Thurlow had passed Sidney, having 1762 persons compared to 1730 for Sidney. However, Sidney enjoyed a decided edge in "wagons for pleasure", having six to Thurlow's one.

Conflicting reports circulated about the land along the Front. A visitor in 1834 wrote: "Between Shannonville and Belleville, we pass over a rich, fertile tract of land, all of which is located. There is in consequence little land for sale here, although much may be obtained in the back concessions, at four to six dollars per acre". A second observer, F. R. Rubidge, the surveyor laying out Point Anne (then spelled Point Ann) described the land in that area of the front as "generally of a Barren description" with the bedrock, chiefly limestone, being "in many places totally bare of Earth". Most timber, especially the red cedar, which had been of good size, had been culled out. Nevertheless, the lots at Point Anne were sought after by veterans of the War of 1812 and others. Also at Point Anne, or Ox Point as it was sometimes called, stonecutters were employed in the late 1830's to cut stone for the Trent Canal locks.

In the 1830's, the community of Foxboro (or Smithville as it was called until about the time of Confederation) took a new lease on life. William Ashley, a native of Fredericksburg, established a waggon and carriage factory about 1835. Ashley also served as first postmaster.

Further north on the Moira, Dr. Anson Hayden had established himself as the only doctor serving the northern parts of the township. The concession corner on which he located about 1824 and built his home, which served also as a surgery and inn, came to be called Hayden's (or Haden's) Corner. Besides medicine and inn-keeping, Dr. Hayden found time to look after public affairs. In 1837, he was elected township clerk, but his known sympathy for William Lyon Mackenzie in the rebellion led to his brief imprisonment at Kingston and his later flight from the country. Accordingly, the township minutes explain that though Hayden had called a town meeting for his residence, on January 1, 1838, the clerk himself was unable to be present; he was behind bars. The meeting named Jonas Canniff as the new clerk. Despite the arrest and flight, the inhabitants continued to respect Hayden, and Hayden's Corner was renamed Corbyville only about 1882, when it was granted a post office.

Thurlow continued to develop. In 1837, there were fourteen schoolhouses, six grist mills and fourteen saw mills, not counting those in Belleville. Beach, maple, basswood, elm, oak, and pine were the principal kinds of timber. A Kingston paper noted that "Wheat, Rye, Corn, Peas, Barley, Oats and Potashes are raised in abundance, unless the crops are destroyed by the severity of the weather". Other products included apples, pears, plums, currants, and all kinds of berries.

When township councils, as we know them to-day, were set up in 1850, the first council consisted of William Sills, Anson Shorey, Archibald Ross, Daniel Fairman, and David Clapp. After adopting a township seal, council proceeded to appoint officials; arrange for the licensing of groceries, ale houses, and showmen; and require "immoderate drivers", (those guilty of driving faster than a walk across a bridge) to pay a five shilling fine.

Corbyville School in the late nineteenth century.

By the 1850's, township settlement may be said to have been completed. An early toll road linked Belleville and Cannifton, and Susanna Moodie spoke of "pretty ornamental cottages" flanking the road. Cannifton's population of about five hundred made it the largest settlement in the Moira Watershed outside Belleville. Canniff's Mills carried on a good traffic in flour and lumber. There were also several stores and craftsmen, as well as a tannery and an ashery. A woollen factory, operated by Alexander Sutherland, was able to produce about a hundred yards of tweed a day. By the 1860's, there were two tanneries owned by D. Mullett and Messrs. J. and F. Brenton; each employed about seven men and processed up to 5,000 sides or pieces of leather annually. Shortly thereafter the village became a stage junction. Further north, Hayden's Corners was growing gradually, thanks to Joseph Canniff's saw mill and Henry Corby's flouring mill. Known as "Honest Henry Corby", he opened this mill in 1857, and within two years it developed into a distillery. In 1864, the mill was described as "one of the largest and most complete in the county". Attached to the distillery was a large, well ventilated stable to house one hundred cattle.

North of Corbyville was the Carmel area. In 1866, Episcopal Methodists built a church to serve the people of the Carmel School Section, which section consisted of Fairfield's Bridge, Honeywell's Corners, and Thrasher's Corners. Fairfield's Bridge was named after a medical doctor who practised in the area about 1837. After his death, his widow built the attractive stone house still standing near Fairfield's Bridge. Honeywell's Corners took its name from the Honeywell family, the first one of the name to settle there being Israel Honeywell, who came in 1870 and

carried on the business of blacksmith. Thrasher's Corners was named after another pioneer family. In the 1860's, it consisted of two hotels, a blacksmith shop, and several houses; however its main claim to fame was the annual fall fair, which until the early 1900's was said to have been larger than Belleville's. The fair, established about 1845, alternated between Roslin and Thrasher's Corners until about 1895; for the next ten years it was held at Thrasher's Corners. The last fair was held in 1905, when the East and West Hastings Agricultural Societies united to hold a single fair at Belleville.

The original township seal, 1850.

Other expanding communities in the 1850's included Plainfield, Zion Hill, Salem, Phillipston, and Roslin. Plainfield, then called Yankee Mills after its founder — "Yankee" Wilson — possessed a flouring mill and one of the largest saw mills in the county by 1865. Zion Hill with its population of about a hundred was called Wilsonburg; its position on the mail route between Foxboro and Moira made it important. In 1862, a Wesleyan Methodist Church was built at Zion Hill, and in 1864, the Episcopal Methodists erected Bethel Church at a cost of two hundred dollars. Just east of Zion Hill, was the village of Salem. It had been planned in 1854 by William Wallbridge. By 1855, Jamieson's stone grist mill was in operation and Salem boasted a blacksmith shop and several houses. After fire destroyed the mill, the houses soon were vacated and to-day there is almost no sign of this once-prosperous village. Three miles east of Zion Hill, Phillipston (Snow Village) had a population of about one hundred; its post office was called "Thurlow". Phillipston took its name from several local families by that name. Roslin, though somewhat smaller than the other centres, was expanding because of the building of Chisholm's Mills and the opening of the Tweed coach line. Halloway and Latta were somewhat smaller centres, although each possessed a post office.

In the 1860's, Plainfield and Halloway gained prominence. The rerouting of the Tweed Road led to the post office being moved from Latta to Plainfield, and for some time Latta was regarded as part of the newer village. Plainfield soon possessed large flour and saw mills as well as a hotel, store, and other businesses, most of them owned by H. G. Gillespie. A change in the coach route to Madoc gave new importance to Halloway,

an old mill hamlet on Chrysal Creek. Although there had been a mill there as early as 1836, Halloway's growth was the result of the changed stage route and the later arrival of the railway.

The falling off of the lumber and flour trade in the 1870's caused a recession in such communities as Cannifton. There, most of the mills closed in the 1870's. Township population had reached a peak about 1872 of slightly over 5,000, and this fell to the 4,000 mark by 1900. The gradual population decline did not dim the qualities of Thurlow's citizens, as evidenced by this 1878 description of the residents as "a people to-day prosperous and intelligent, justly noted for hospitality and the many social virtues, while their broad charity and public spirit find them foremost in every enterprise conducive to the general welfare". Thrasher's Corners remained famous as the scene of an "extraordinary combat" between Mr. Thrasher and two full grown bears, both of which he killed with a club. Mr. Thrasher, who operated an inn at the corners, lived to be 102 years old, and people came from near and far to see the bear skins.

There were some bright spots in the economy. Apple orchards were becoming important. Large quantities of the finest quality of cheese were being manufactured, and this product attracted the highest market prices in Europe. Ashley's carriage factory at Foxboro remained prosperous. William Hudson established a profitable carriage factory at Roslin. The Grand Trunk Railway had extensive quarries near Foxboro, and the quarries at Point Anne furnished stone for the Murray Canal bridge and the St. Lawrence canal system. In the present century, the Canada Cement Company has made use of these limestone beds for its plant on Hungry Bay near Point Anne.

To-day, the township is known for its fine farms and its friendly people (among them hockey player Bobby Hull, a native of Point Anne).
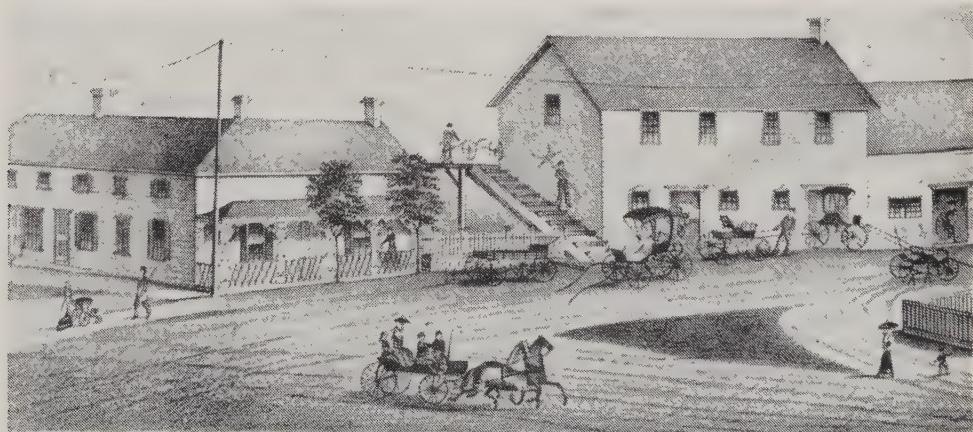
CARRIAGE FACTORY, STORE & RES OF WM. HUDSON, ROSLIN, THURLOW TP ONT

Hudson's Carriage Factory was one of the Township's thriving businesses, as shown in this 1878 drawing.

Chapter 43

Tyendinaga Reserve

"The people are happy and contented; many of them possess property of value; and it is not an uncommon thing to see a Mohawk driving along in his little wagon, with every appearance of comfort."

(R. H. Bonnycastle, 1841)

The Mohawks of the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve have played an important role in the history of the county. As noted in earlier chapters, they were the first Loyalists to settle here, and their efforts in the War of 1812 and again during the Rebellion of 1837-38 helped to keep Canada within the British Empire.

Although they had originally been assigned all of the present township of Tyendinaga, the small number of Mohawks (perhaps 200 in 1817) meant that much of the land was not being used. Accordingly, the colonial government decided to open up the central parts of the reserve for other settlers. On July 20, 1820, the Mohawks surrendered part of their lands to the Crown, in return for an annual payment of £450 Halifax currency (to be paid in goods at the Montreal price) forever. Many Indians were dissatisfied with the bargain; they had intended only to lease or rent the central section and not to sell it. To show their discontent, a party of almost forty Indians blocked a government survey party in 1820 and demanded that the line be run further north.

Timber rights created another problem in 1820. The chiefs had been in the habit of authorizing lumbermen to cut timber on the reserve. The Canadian government, believing that the lumbermen were a disturbing influence on the reserve and that the Indians had no right to give timber licences, objected to this cutting; and the district sheriff seized some timber near the high falls on the Shannon River. However, a copy of the 1793 deed granting the land to the Mohawks was obtained, and it seemed to give control of the timber to the Mohawks, so the government could do little except regret that "large quantities of square oak, white and yellow pine" were being cut.

The southern lands kept by the Mohawks after 1820 were not always first-class, which fact attracted the attention of various writers. In 1822, Robert Gourlay described the area as "little improved", and in 1825, Mrs. Margaret Hall wrote that, except for the Mohawk Tract, the land from the Carrying Place to Kingston was quite settled and cultivated on both sides of the water. Perhaps the strongest criticism came from the pen of Captain Basil Hall, who not only described the lands as neglected and uncultivated, but also went on to describe the Indians as "besmeared with grease and painted with ochre". In answer to Captain Hall, an anony-

mous letter writer in 1834 noted that the only lands Captain Hall could have seen, as he sailed past in the steamboat, possessed "a soil so shallow that however able and willing the Indians might have been to cultivate them, the return would have furnished no proportionate reward for the labour expended on them". The writer further pointed out that the Indians no longer decorated themselves in the fashion described and claimed that Captain Hall was profoundly ignorant of the Mohawks, never having seen the more fertile interior plain or the interesting people. The writer concluded:

"When I first visited this place, it was upon a Sunday. Nothing could be more interesting than to notice, as the deep solitude was broken by the Sabbath bell, troops of old and young Indians emerging by different pathways, from among the trees, to attend the worship of the Great Manitou, now recognized as the God of Israel. The dresses of some of the Indian girls were superb, and I verily believe, that some of them were loaded with ornaments of silver . . . The beauty of some of these children of the forest was strikingly great . . . During divine service, such order and decency prevailed, as would have called up the blush to the face of many a member of a more pretending congregation. It was truly gratifying to observe the devotion with which their responses were made, and the attention which they paid to the discourse of their worthy and affectionate pastor, the Rev. Mr. Givens."

Reverend Saltern Givens (Givins) was a pastor devoted to his congregation. As first permanent rector (1830-51), he played a large part in erecting Christ Church, which church replaced a small wooden one built by the early arrivals. The cornerstone was laid on Tuesday, May 30, 1843, and Archdeacon George Okill Stuart of Kingston conducted the service. The service followed a procession of Indians, who, singing hymns, led the way from the wharf where the clergy and visitors had landed from the steamers, past the old church, to the site of the ceremony. The new church was "of stone with a handsome tin-covered spire . . . the most interesting public building in Canada West", according to Colonel R. H. Bonnycastle. The new church incorporated three gifts made by George III to the first church in 1798: namely, the Royal Coat of Arms, an altar piece or Triptych containing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments (all in Mohawk), and a fine bell. Although fire destroyed the church in 1906 after it was struck by lightning, the former altar piece and the recast bell are part of the present church, which was constructed entirely by Indian labour and money. In the 1930's, to show that his Mohawk subjects were not forgotten, George V replaced the Royal Coat of Arms.

In political matters, Reverend Givens was joined by the Portts of Tyendinaga Township in looking after the Indians' welfare. William Portt led the Mohawk warriors in the troubled year after 1837, was on hand at the government's annual distribution of presents, and, on behalf of the

The Queen Anne communion silver is displayed by Carol Brant at the annual ceremonies celebrating the landing of the Mohawks at Tyendinaga on May 22, 1784. In the background is Chief John Brant.

Mohawks, protested the government's policy in 1835 when the Mohawks' hunting lands in the north-west of the township were surrendered to the Crown. According to Portt, the government cheated the Indians, since parts of the surrendered lands (which were to be sold for the Indians' benefit) were set aside as crown and clergy reserves, thus depriving the Indians of a large share of the possible income. The disappearance at Toronto of the Mohawks' original deed, which might have supported the Indians' case, suggested to Portt that Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head might have conveniently packed it with his private papers. However, that official claimed that the document probably had been mislaid in the confusion following the 1837 outbreak.

The question of land-holding on the remaining reserve lands was a serious one in the 1830's. Apparently the chiefs had leased some of the land to whites, and other Indians complained of this. The Canadian government then set a time limit for these white settlers to leave the reserve. When this deadline was reached, late in 1838, the violaters had not moved. Reverend Givens felt that if a gradual attempt was made to move the white squatters every house on the reserve would be reducd to ashes. He suggested that the government move these settlers very quickly, perhaps to Iowa, since they were a "very disaffected and dangerous class of people". Presumably land was found for the white squatters closer than Iowa; in any case, the homes of the Indians were not all destroyed, as Givens had feared. Perhaps the settlement allowed the white men to rent lands on the reserve, as can be done now.

Although the Indian lands had been reduced to less than 20,000 acres by the 1850's, some white men were still not satisfied. In January, 1856, Hastings County Council petitioned the Canadian government to allow bona fide settlers to purchase lands on the reserve, which area was said to be "comparatively uncultivated in consequence of the indolent and

intemperate habits of the present occupants". Council echoed the views of Susanna Moodie, who in 1852 had stated:

"The red·man is out of his element when he settles quietly down to a farm . . . there is a great lack of order and regularity in all their agricultural proceedings. They do not make half as much out of their land — which they suffer to be overgrown with thorns and thistles — as their white neighbours."

Yet Susanna Moodie also appreciated some of the fine characteristics of the Mohawks. She was particularly impressed by a family of the name of Loft who had gained some fame throughout the country by their stage performances of Indian songs, dances, and other customs. Two Loft sisters, marked by their "graceful and symmetrical figures", were the most beautiful Indian women Mrs. Moodie had ever seen.

Mrs. Moodie also must have admired Oronhyatekha (Peter Martin), the noted Indian physician who served as consulting physician to the Mohawks, and who, as noted earlier, rebuilt the Independent Order of Foresters, putting it on a sound financial footing.

The Mohawks have retained their strong loyalty to the British Crown and Canada. It is said that, per capita, the Mohawks had the largest enrolment of any Canadian group in the armed forces in the First War.

To-day, the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve consists of about 17,000 acres. There is a band membership of some 2,100 souls, less than half of whom reside permanently on the reserve. Band membership means that the Indian has a home for as long as the grass grows and the water runs (or until the government might decide to expropriate the land). Another privilege of band membership is that there is no property tax to pay. Nor is there any income tax as long as the Indian works on the reserve. Certain fishing rights are also enjoyed, and education is paid for by the federal government. On the other hand, there are disadvantages to band membership, perhaps the most important being that the Indian's lands on the reserve can be sold only to another Indian. Also, since the Indian's land is Crown land and cannot be seized by an Indian's creditor for failure to pay debts, bank loans and mortgages are almost impossible to obtain on most Canadian reserves. Nevertheless, the Indians of Tyendinaga have established a very good reputation for payment of their bills, and loans are available to most of them.

Despite their early isolation from the white settlers (which some present Indian leaders believe was a mistake), the Indian way of life is now very close to that of the neighbouring white people. A majority of the employed men and women work outside the reserve. Mohawk is no longer a primary language, English is spoken in the homes, and the children receive their secondary school education in Belleville. Indian names are no longer given, and many Indians have little knowledge of their proud heritage.

Indians in full Mohawk dress add a colourful touch to the Mohawk Fair, held annually on the reserve. Pictured are Andrew Maracle, Ross Maracle, Elwood D. Brant, and John A. Brant. The feathered bonnets originally were worn by the Plains Indians of the West; however, other tribes have adopted the head-dress because the white man feels that it is the sign of a genuine Indian.

The Mohawks have set an example for their white neighbours in many areas. During the Great Depression, they cultivated one hundred per cent of the reserve's arable land. They operated the district's first seed cleaning plant and had the only organized plowmen's association in the county.

The Tyendinaga Reserve is regarded as a model reserve by the government. It was the first band in Canada to receive power to control its own funds (1959). The band's five-man council prepares an annual budget and looks after the various expenses in much the same fashion as a village or township council. There are no hereditary chiefs on the reserve, and the chief is elected in democratic fashion along with the council. Revenue for the council, totalling almost $20,000 annually, comes from the leasing of lands to white men, the rent of the airport, and the federal government. The federal and provincial governments pay the cost of road upkeep.

The Mohawks of Tyendinaga are a proud people. They have been slow to anger, though their treatment by their white brothers and the government has not always been fair. They have accepted their lands, though some sections are not good. They have endured some poverty and hardship; since 1961, they have administered their own welfare programme. They have adopted many of the white man's ways, though as recently as June, 1957, sacred tobacco was burned on the sacred mound by one or more Indians who hoped for the second coming of Deganawedah, the Great Messenger.

The Mohawks of Tyendinaga are proud of their history and heritage left them by their forefathers, who settled along the shore of the Bay of Quinte in honour, loyalty, and fear of God.

Chapter 44

Tyendinaga Township

*"Perhaps there is not a Township in the Province more
kindly watered than Tyendinaga."*

(Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, May 3, 1837)

Tyendinaga Township was created out of lands surrendered to the
Crown by the Mohawks of the Tyendinaga Reserve after July 20, 1820.
Like the reserve, it took its name from Joseph Brant, the noted Mohawk
chief and warrior whose Indian name was Thayendanegea.

Even before the surrender date, prospective settlers were showing an
interest in the area, especially in the prospective mill sites on the Salmon
River. This river, called the Salmon or *Gosippa* by the Indians or the Shannon
by district pioneers as early as 1805, offered a particularly good
mill site near its mouth. In 1818, Warren Noble and Frederick Keeler
signed a 999 year lease with the Mohawks, whereby they obtained about
200 acres of land and mill privileges. In return, the tenants agreed (1835)
to pay the Indians an annual rental of thirty barrels of flour. This agreement
is now taken care of by Canadian Canners, and the distribution,
about four pounds per person, is a pleasant mid-winter interlude at
the Mohawk Council Hall.
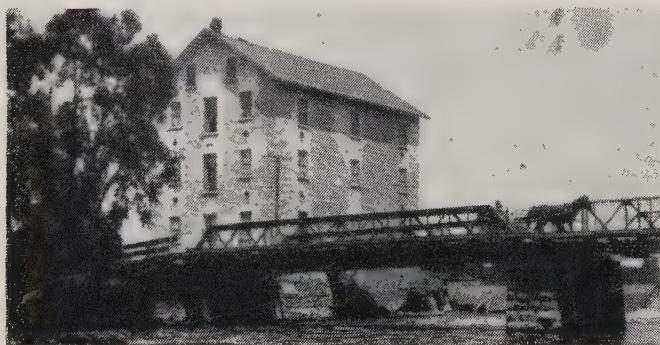
Shannonville's historic
mill and the bridge across
the Salmon River.

The land leased by Noble and Keeler came to be called Shannonville,
partly because of the early name of the river and partly because of the
Portt family and other pioneers who came from the vicinity of Shannon
in Ireland.

Meanwhile, the government was proceeding with plans to open the
middle section of the Mohawk Tract to white settlers. By the fall of 1820,
the Indians, though somewhat reluctant, had agreed to surrender part of
their lands and had allowed a survey of the first four concessions of the
present township. Lots in the new township were offered at a series of
public auctions at Kingston's court house, but with limited success. A sale
on November 14, 1820, attracted few persons, and auctioneer John Mac-

aulay sold only seventeen lots, seven of which were purchased by a Nap-
anee man. The purchasers were described by auctioneer Macaulay as
being "partly pleased, and partly dissatisfied with their bargains". Some
refused to make the down payment. The four Darcey brothers, who had
bid for the western end of Concession IV, complained that for the most
part it was "an immense cedar swamp". Since the Darceys were described
as "decent Irishmen", Macaulay was prepared to let them have land
elsewhere in the township.

The township settled slowly in the 1820's. Pioneer settler John Portt
claimed that there were only 27 white inhabitants in 1826, although other
authorities set the figure as high as 352. By 1830, when Tyendinaga separ-
ated from Thurlow for municipal purposes, the population had increased
to 373, of whom 87 were men over the age of 15. Only 351 acres of land
were cultivated in 1830, and there were fewer than 300 farm animals.
Many of the men were employed in the lumbering trade, since the town-
ship had three saw mills. Prominent among the first settlers were the
Portt, Sweeney, Nealon, Kenny, Hanley, English, and Killmurray families
from Ireland; the McLaren, McFarlane, Anderson and Foster families
from Scotland; and the Robert and Palmer families from England. The
Applebys, Laziers, and Mordens were of Loyalist descent.
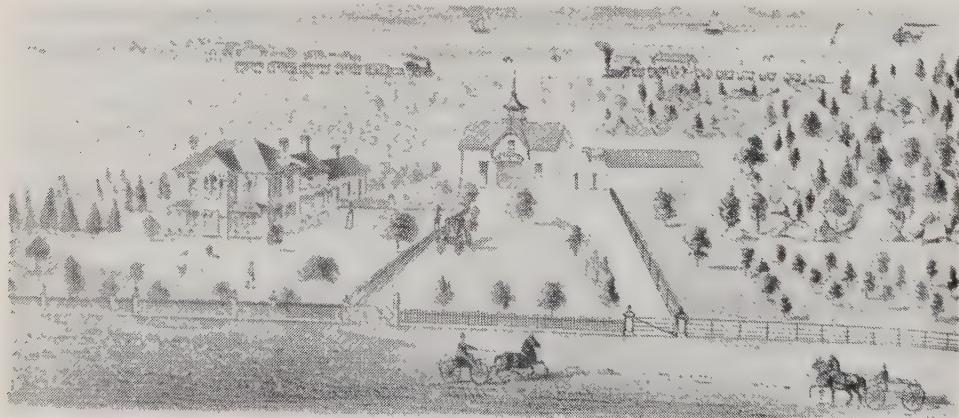
"Mountainview", the residence of R. L. Lazier, Lot 5, Concession 1, Tyendinaga Township,
1878.

The first town meeting for Tyendinaga appears to have been held in
1830 at the Shannonville home of Richard Lazier, a pioneer settler from
Prince Edward County who arrived in Tyendinaga in 1828. John Portt
was named town clerk.

Tyendinaga experienced a population explosion in the early 1830's.
Labour unrest and poor times in the British Isles helped to boost the
population from 620 in 1831 to 1792 in 1836, a three-fold increase in
five years. So great was the increase that the government opened more
Indian lands to settlers in 1835 and 1843. The Mohawks lost their hunt-
ing grounds. Many of the settlers were Irishmen, who settled in the town-

ship because it was the only front township in which new land was available in any quantity. The Irish Roman Catholics generally settled in the eastern half (Marysville, Read), while the Protestants were concentrated in the western part.

Among the first Irishmen to arrive were John Sweeney and Robert Portt. About 1820, they landed near Deseronto and moved inland. Portt picked the Hill Top, ever since known as Portt's hill, and Sweeney stayed nearby on level ground. In the early years the Roman Catholic mass was held at Sweeney's house, and this family played an important role in establishing a Roman Catholic church on Lot 24 in the first concession (Marysville). This church was built in 1837, with Father Charles Bourke as the first regular pastor.

In the 1830's Shannonville continued to grow. In 1833, Thomas Appleby was appointed postmaster at the new post office, and the village was described by a visitor in 1834 as "a bustling little place during the rafting season".

By 1837, the township had seven saw mills, a grist mill, five taverns, five weavers' shops, two general stores, a chair factory, a "dish turner", a tailor, and a handful of other shops. There were ten schools, an Anglican Church, and a Roman Catholic Church then being built at Marysville. The first four concessions were the settled ones, the land to the rear being "mostly wild" and the interior roads being described in 1837 "as yet rather rough". After 1840, the remaining lands were surveyed and placed on the market, the Mohawks surrendering their last main northern hunting grounds in 1843.

The township's growth in the 1840's and 1850's has been described as "remarkable", especially since much of the land was somewhat rugged. Good British and American markets apparently made marginal lands profitable, and lumbering remained important, there being eight saw mills by 1846. By 1860, Tyendinaga reached a population peak of over 7,000 persons, making its population larger than the town of Belleville.

Shannonville shared in this expansion. Susanna Moodie spoke of it as having "arisen, as if by magic, within a very few years". In fact, many of its people came as refugees of the "Great Famine" in Ireland, 1846-47. When Mrs. Moodie visited the site about 1850, three schooners were anchored at the mouth of the Salmon River, loading sawn lumber for Oswego; over a million feet had been shipped in the preceding year. The Shannonville Fair, now called the "World's Fair", began in 1856. In 1860, Shannonville was described as "a thriving and prosperous place with 700 persons and 115 dwellings". The saw mill operated by Francis Wallbridge contained 61 upright and 4 circular saws, capable of producing 5,000,000 feet of lumber yearly. Adjoining was T. Wallbridge's grist mill, a four storey stone building with a capacity of 40,000 bushels a year. Education was attended to by a common school with an average attendance of 100 scholars.
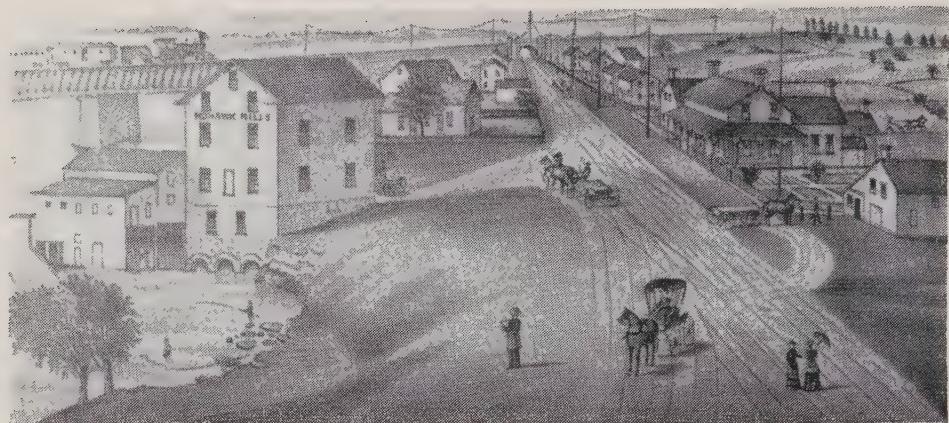
The Mills and residence of Appleby and Burdett, Milltown, 1878.

East of Shannonville on the Salmon River, Milltown prospered in the late nineteenth century. In the 1860's, its 200 people were employed in grist and saw mills owned by David Smith and the Laziers, a machine shop and chair factory operated by R. F. Pegan, and other industries.

Melrose has been the seat of municipal government since the township hall was built there in 1859. The village was named by Mr. Duncan, the first storekeeper, whose birthplace was Melrose in Scotland. The centre's first grist mill had been built in 1833 by Mr. McFarlane, and two more grist mills and two cheese factories followed. The settlers—the McLaren, McFarland, Fullough, Shaughnessy, English, Tripp, and Badgley families — built an Anglican Church in the 1830's, and later Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

Like Melrose, Lonsdale had its beginnings in the 1830's when James Lazier built a stone grist mill. Later, its excellent waterpower resulted in a woollen mill and a large lumber industry locating there. Two hotels, a blacksmith shop, a saddle and harness store, and a general store completed the village. In 1868, the Wesleyan Methodists erected a frame church on the hill, which church to-day has the original wood stoves, pews, and doorkey; coal-oil lamps were used for services. Lonsdale's stone architecture is very beautiful, the stone being of an attractive brownish colour, and of better texture than Belleville's.

Just west of Lonsdale on the Salmon was a saw mill which gave rise to the legend of the "Ghost of Meagher's Mill". Apparently a young man drowned in the mill pond. Because this was a sudden and violent death, the inhabitants believed that his soul would not rest, and no one would work at the mill. At last, the priest was brought in. The neighbours said the rosary, the litany, and prayers for the dead. Henceforth the ghost was laid.

In the northwest corner of Tyendinaga is part of the community of Roslin. Here, in 1860, William Hudson began the manufacture of carriages. At that time, the site was known as Wilson's Corners, presumably after medical doctor B. S. Wilson, who may also have been proprietor of

Wilson's Tavern there in the 1850's. Chisholm's mill, purchased in 1857 by W. F. Chisholm from the Shipmans, remains the largest sawmill and lumber company in the area.

In August, 1854, the Roman Catholic Parish of St. Charles was established to serve the northern half of Tyendinaga. In 1855, a frame church was built at Read, then called Blessington. (The community was renamed Read in memory of Senator Read, who was instrumental in obtaining a daily mail service for the area.) The strong Irish faith of the congregation can be seen in the fact that, up to 1901, thirty-three of its boys and girls had become priests or nuns.

Among the other centres were Naphan, named after the Naphan family; Albert, named after Queen Victoria's consort; Kingsford or "The Watermill" on the Hastings-Lennox border; Halston; and Blessington. Each was a postal village until about 1914.

Tyendinaga reached a population peak of over 7,000 in the 1860's. Thereafter, there was a steady decline to about 4,000 at the turn of the century and to 2,000 in the 1940's. The depleted lumber industry, the abandonment of marginal or sub-marginal lands in the face of stiff competition, and the attraction of urban areas caused this decline.

The present century has re-established Tyendinaga as a generally prosperous rural community. Farming has regained its importance. Milltown and other centres have lost their mills. Lonsdale has become a mecca for artists. Melrose, despite a temporary, fraudulent oil well boom before World War I, has again become a typical rural community. The people of Tyendinaga remain tight-knit, industrious, and proud to be citizens of what they consider to be the finest township in Hastings County.
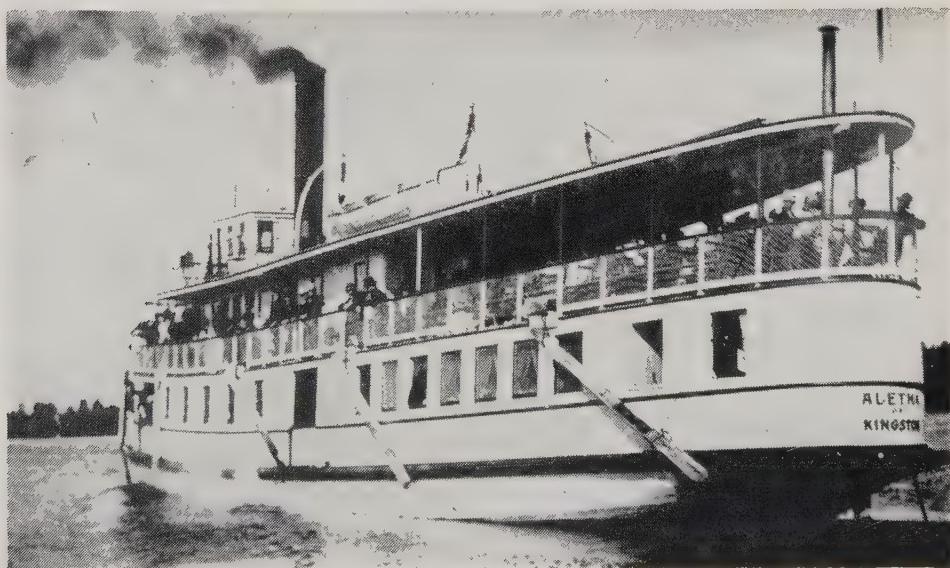
The "Aletha" of Kingston leaves Shannonville with a Sunday School excursion, July 7, 1911.

Chapter 45

Deseronto

"Deseronto is essentially a manufacturing town —
a veritable hive of industry . . ."

The town of Deseronto was first known as Culbertson's (or Cuthbertson's) Wharf, then as Mill Point, Bowen, Mill Point again, and finally Deseronto. "Deseronto" is a Mohawk word, associated with the legendary Thunderbird. Captain John Deserontyou, who carried this proud Indian name, was the chief who led fifteen canoe loads of Mohawks to Tyendinaga in 1784.

The site of the town was originally part of the Indian reserve. Then in 1835, John Culbertson, the son of a Scotch fur trader and a grandson of Captain Deserontyou, applied to the Mohawk chiefs for a section of land, at the east end of the Tyendinaga Reserve. On February 17, 1837, a grant was made to Culbertson, who already had built a landing on the site. The landing became known as Culbertson's Wharf. Culbertson conceived the idea of a village about his residence, but it was only in 1855 that a small plot was surveyed for that purpose; Culbertson named it Deseronto, after his grandfather.
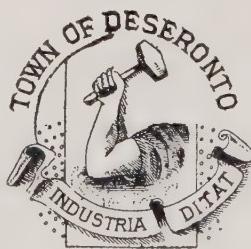
A portion of Culbertson's land, situated in the centre of the present town, was sold in July, 1848, to the H. B. Rathbun Company, a lumbering firm registered in Oswego, New York. The company established a saw mill on its new land, and the site came to be known as Mill Point. The Rathbun mill was fed by logs brought down the Moira, Salmon, Trent, and Napanee rivers.

Hugo Burghardt Rathbun can be regarded as the builder and founder of Deseronto as a business community. In 1855, he moved to Mill Point, took over complete control of the business, and proceeded to expand its operations. In due course the company operated two saw mills; a sash, door, and blind factory; a shingle factory; and a flour mill, using the first roller mill in Canada. For towing log-booms they owned the tugs "Rescue" and "Ranger". Their lake freighters the "Resolute" and the "Reliance" carried cargo to Oswego; and the "Ella Ross", "Deseronto",

The Rathbun Mills at Deseronto in the late nineteenth century.

"Quinte", and "Armenia" carried passengers. By 1889, the company owned and ran the Bay of Quinte Railway, the Thousand Islands Railway, and the Napanee and Tamworth Railway, these lines totalling almost forty miles. The Rathbun car shops at Deseronto produced rolling stock for several other railways. In addition, the company operated a 250-acre farm to supply horses for its logging operations. The farm was also run experimentally to determine the best crops for local conditions.

Other Rathbun ventures included a gas, chemical, and charcoal works; a terra cotta works; a general store, and a cement works at Marlbank. At Madoc, the North American Telegraph Company, a subsidiary of the Rathbun Company, provided the first telephone service. This company also served a number of exchanges in eastern Ontario from Packenham to Peterborough. The Rathbun Company owned most of Deseronto, sold lots to its men, helped them build homes, supplied the town with gas, and printed the *Tribune*, a weekly paper. Paper money issued by the company was accepted as legal tender by local businesses.

Meanwhile, the town was growing up around the Rathbun enterprises. Early settlers included the Aylesworth, Gaulin, Bogart, Richardson, Vandervoort, Naylor, and Sager families. They faced many hardships. At least one citizen recalled shaking the snow off the bed clothes before rising in the morning, since the snow sifted through the cracks in the walls of the house.

In 1851, a post office was opened near the east end of the present town. This office, originally called Mill Point, received the name of Bowen in 1857, after J. Bowen, who became postmaster in that year. In 1863, it resumed the name of Mill Point, although some people referred to it as Deseronca or Deserontia.

In June of 1871, the population of Mill Point reached 864, and 105 inhabitants petitioned county council for village status. Council agreed, and the village of Mill Point was created that year. Its location near Mill Town led to some confusion, and since many people wanted a name that would show the historic importance of the site, Mill Point became Deseronto in 1881.
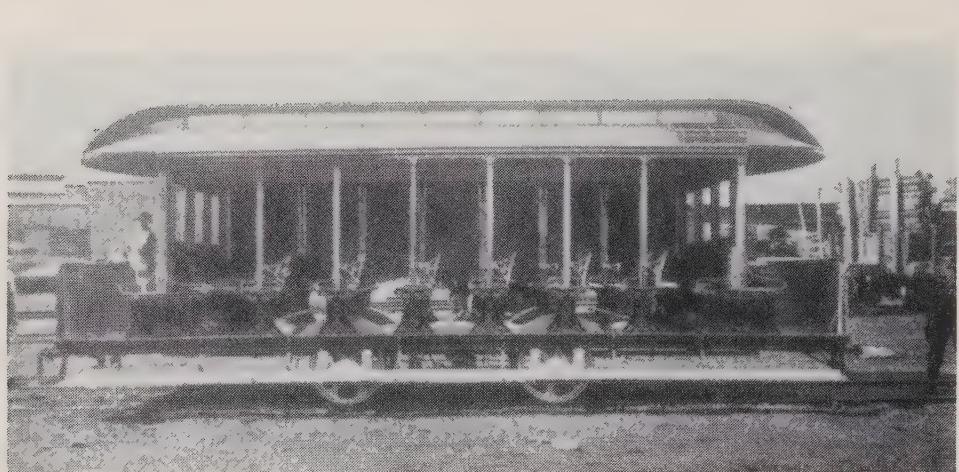
The Rathbun Company manufactured street railway cars for the transportation systems of Oshawa and other cities.

The church in Deseronto has had an interesting history. At an early date, the Wesleyan Methodist minister from Shannonville considered it a part of his circuit, and the Anglicans began services in 1864. The Presbyterians soon followed, and an unusual arrangement was worked out. All three groups worshipped in the same building, the Union Church. The Anglicans held their Sunday service in the morning, the Presbyterians in the afternoon, and the Methodists in the evening. Then in 1880, the Anglicans built a permanent stone church, and in 1881 the present Presbyterian Church was built. The Roman Catholics built a church, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1896 and then rebuilt.

The Rathbun Company reached its peak shortly after 1883, the year of its incorporation as one of Canada's great commercial enterprises, with a registered capital of $2,000,000. As many as 5,000 persons were employed at one time, and the average in the late 1880's was 3,000. Sales agencies were established in London, England, and other foreign centres.

By 1888, the village's population had passed the 3,200 mark, and on Monday, January 7, 1889, Deseronto was incorporated as a town. E. W. Rathbun, who after the 1860's had become the leading figure in the Rathbun Company, was the town's first mayor.

Unfortunately, the company faced a serious problem in the 1880's. The log harvest was diminishing, and the loggers were having to go well back into north Hastings for suitable timber. A union with the Gilmour Company of Trenton was proposed by E. W. Rathbun in 1890-91, and Rathbun took an option on the Trenton operation, but his money-raising trip to England failed to uncover sufficient capital to complete the purchase. Still the Rathbun Company was in a fairly good position, because of its varied activities.

Disaster overtook the company and town on May 25, 1896. A fire started on the timber docks and quickly spread. The citizens put up a "hard fight, and that without the aid of more appliances than pails of water, and yet with wonderful success". Unfortunately, many citizens

were away for the day on a holiday excursion to Kingston, and the fire
gained a strong foothold before fire brigades from Belleville, Napanee,
and Kingston could reach the scene. The fire destroyed much of the town
east of Fourth Street, including such Rathbun enterprises as the Deser-
onto Flour Mill (renowned for its Crown Jewel Flour). A moderate
estimate set the company's loss at $150,000, and total fire damage at
$250,000.

The company and the town gradually recovered, and bit by bit, a new
town grew. The Rathbun Company persuaded the Gaylord Iron Company
of Detroit to set up an iron works at Deseronto in 1899. The Bay of
Quinte Railway line was extended to the works, and an extensive ore
dock was built. Charcoal and other chemicals were supplied by the Rath-
bun Chemical Company. However, the Gaylord Iron Company, like the
Rathbun Company, eventually had to close, due to the exhaustion of local
timber supplies.

Deseronto's present population is about 1,900 persons. Although
some find employment in nearby centres, such as Napanee and Belle-
ville, most are employed in local businesses and industries. Among the
prominent industries are the Canadian Optical Company, Ideal Vendors,
Metcalfe Canning Company, and Hawley Brothers woodworking plant.
Tourism is important because of the town's position on the Bay of Quinte,
and the completion of the Quinte Skyway, linking Deseronto to Prince
Edward County, will help the town's business. Deseronto's citizens enjoy
a full programme of sports and other activities. Although its importance
has lessened from the days of the vast Rathbun Empire, Deseronto remains
an attractive town, possessing a fine group of citizens.

This 1907 view shows the Orphans' Home operated by the Independent Order of Foresters.
The home stood on Foresters Island (earlier called Captain John's Island, after John Deser-
ontyou). The island was in the Bay of Quinte, just south of Deseronto.

Chapter 46

Rawdon Township

> "*It is . . . at present but slenderly settled; the soil in general of the usual quality, part good, part indifferent.*"
>
> (*D'Arcy Boulton, 1805*)

Rawdon Township was named in honour of Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754-1826), a distinguished British military leader in the American Revolution. The township's boundaries were first surveyed by William Hambly, who arrived at the south-east corner on January 4, 1794. Hambly's diary tells of his discovery of good stands of pine and oak timber, of the extreme cold that caused axes to break, and of his fear of hostile Indians. Near the Moira River, which he called the Sevee River, he camped in a tamarack swamp. While crossing the frozen Crowe River on February 12, three of Hambly's men "fell thro the Ice but received no other Damage than wetting . . . struck fire to dry. Snowing fast so we camped here."

Until 1796, Rawdon and Huntingdon townships were reserved for a group of men who had agreed to bring in settlers, in return for large land grants. A few settlers came in; however, the schemes failed, and the township was declared vacant. After May, 1796, the survey was completed. Among the first settlers was Joshua Goldsmith, who, as early as 1803, obtained a licence to operate a still with a capacity of 53 gallons. In 1804, Samuel Rosebush also obtained a licence to operate a still in Rawdon. In fact, Rosebush was the only licensed distiller in the county in 1804. A shortage of hay and the use of rye to feed the cattle had forced several other distillers to close down their stills. By 1806, R. George Macaulay and John Ross had joined Rosebush in the distilling trade.

Many of the early settlers were of Loyalist stock — families such as the Chards, Weeses, Hubbles, Sines, Huffmans, and Dafoes. They were

A Bee for raising a barn on the eighth concession of Rawdon, circa 1900.
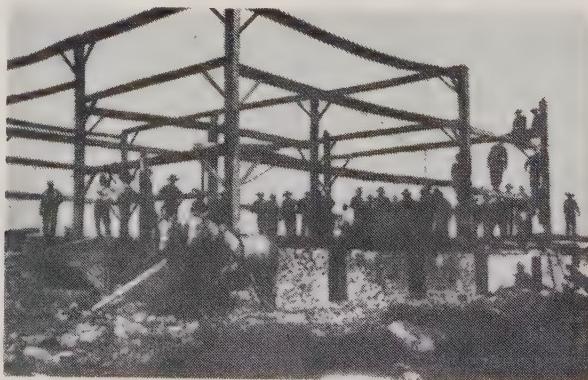
joined by families of American and other origins: Westcott, Montgomery, Rogers, White, Fox, Parks, Rolph, Morton, Mack, Bateman, Meiklejohn, Duncan, Wellman, and so on.

The township grew slowly. In 1821, there were only 200 people, of whom 105 were under 16 years of age; there were only 35 males 16 years and over. About 670 acres of land were being cultivated, and livestock included 32 horses, 37 oxen, 78 cows, and 19 horned cattle. The township had only seven frame or squared-timber houses, and there was a grist mill and a saw mill. Yearly taxes for the entire township came to a modest £9. 10s. 5d. By 1829, the population had increased to 329, and 1,046 acres of land were under cultivation.

Troubled times in Great Britain helped to boost the population in the mid 1830's. From 355 in 1830, the population rose to 625 in 1835, and 767 in 1836. This increase was accompanied by some prosperity, as *The Intelligencer* noted in 1837: "Grains of all description do well in this township, a large quantity of potash is made annually in Rawdon, which with the rest of the produce is principally brought to Belleville". *The Intelligencer* commented on the "great number of mill sites" available, and the existence of "two saw mills and a very excellent grist mill". In the third concession, there was a Baptist house of worship, which other denominations were allowed to use. (Earlier, the Baptists had held services in Samuel Rosebush's house.) The account concluded: "There are some very able farmers in the township of Rawdon, men who have also managed to lay up money for a future day." In 1839, the population reached 1,067.

As elsewhere, transportation was a problem. Before the 1840's, there was talk of a railroad to connect the township with Belleville, but nothing came of the project for forty years. In the 1840's, Susanna Moodie commented on the Ridge Road (between Rawdon Village, or Stirling, and Luke's Tavern), which she called a "most extraordinary natural phenomenon . . . along the top of a sharp ridge, so narrow that it leaves barely breadth enough for two waggons to pass . . . The road is well fenced on either side, or it would require some courage to drive young skittish horses along this dangerous pass." A map of 1850 described the Ridge Road as "very good"; however, the road leading north to Marmora was said to be "very bad corduroy", especially the northern half which passed through swamps.

The township farmers made history on November 3, 1848, when they held their first agricultural fair. This set an "example worthy of being followed by other townships", according to the *Victoria Chronicle*.

Also in 1848, the township farmers held what may have been their first town meeting to elect officials. William Chard was named chairman, and fifty-five pathmasters and eleven town wardens were appointed. One of the wardens' duties was to keep the Sabbath from being profaned. When

township councils were set up in 1850, Edward Fidlar was named the first reeve. The council set aside £150 to build a township hall at Stirling, and a later by-law allowed Protestant denominations to use the hall for public worship.

The original Township Seal, 1850.

Rawdon's population in 1850 stood at 2,613. Annual production amounted to 37,000 bushels of wheat, 13,000 bushels of oats, 11,000 bushels of peas, 21,000 bushels of potatoes, 5,000 bushels of turnips, 30,000 pounds of maple sugar, 8,100 pounds of wool, and 7,000 pounds of butter.

By 1861, the population stood at 4,344, and the township was said to be in "a very prosperous and thriving condition". It produced 27,000 bushels of mangel-wurzel, a variety of beet used for cattle feed. Butter production was 12,000 pounds. The 1861 census showed 43,000 sheep; however, that figure probably should have read 4,300 sheep.

Following the incorporation of Stirling as a village (1858), the township council decided to build a new hall. Harold was selected, since it was the most central community, and in 1863 the township hall was opened. The modest stone structure, still in use, has wide pine flooring, as well as the original chairs and wood-burning stove. To-day, the cenotaph at Harold honours the inhabitants of Rawdon who served in the two world wars, including thirty-four who gave their lives.

Springbrook's Main Street, showing the Mason House, circa 1910.

About 1865, one of the earliest cheese factories in eastern Ontario began at Wellman's Corners. Professor King, a cheese-maker, came from the United States and instructed James Whitton Jr. Unfortunately, the factory operated only about three years, although Mr. Whitton and his wife later operated the Plum Grove Cheese Factory (located on the same site) with more success.

In the 1880's, the coming of the railroads created a boom and led to the development of such communities as Anson Junction. Named after farmer Anson Cummings, the site was at the junction of the Grand Junction Railway and the Central Ontario Railway. Directly to the east of the junction was Chard's general store. Another community, Big Springs, sprang up at the junction of the Central Ontario Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Big Springs was supposed to become a divisional point, but there were disputes over land, so the yards were located at Havelock instead. Later, the community was called Bell View, after a hotel built by John Bell. When the community voted dry in 1897, the

John Morgan's mill at Springbrook, 1910.

hotel closed, but the name of Bell View was kept for the community. The station was called Central Ontario Junction. A suggested new name was CEPACO, the unhappy result of uniting Central Ontario with Pacific (as in Canadian Pacific Railway). Fortunately, station agent J. F. Baker circulated a petition to have the community named in honour of Andrew Bonar Law, Canadian-born Conservative prime minister of Great Britain, 1921-22. Thus Bonarlaw was named.

Manufacturing since the 1880's has been confined to grist and saw mills, brick yards, and cheese factories. Among the latter was Kingston's Cheese Manufacturing Company, located on W. J. Kingston's farm on the fourth concession. The building's cost was kept down to $1,015.19, because the stockholders worked at the building for one dollar a day. The price of the cheese sold in the company's first year, 1889, was 9.48 cents per pound.

Students of Springbrook School, 1903. The teachers were Miss B. Swanson and Miss M. Thompson.

The largest unincorporated village in the township is Springbrook. The earliest settlers were the McKenna and Rupert families. At one time, the settlement boasted two hotels, a grain elevator, a cheese factory, a carriage shop, a blacksmith shop, and three general stores. By 1869, Springbrook formed a part of the Marmora Mission of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; however, in 1882, a church was built at a cost of $581. The community also possessed a combined saw mill, grist mill, shingle mill, and cheese box factory, owned by John Morgan. Springbrook may have taken its name from the cheese factory, which had been built before 1887 on a spring and a brook, or it may have been named by Mrs. McKenna. Early cheesemakers were troubled by patrons putting water in the milk, since farmers were paid by the weight; inspectors and tests were used to check this. The Springbrook cheese factory produced up to 200,000 pounds of cheese a year. In the present century, cheesemaker R. Wesley Thompson was among the first to produce whey butter in Ontario, if not in Canada.

From a peak population of almost 3,500 in the 1880's, Rawdon's population dropped to below the 2,000 mark by 1940. To-day it stands at about 2,100. The trends towards larger farms and agricultural mechanization have caused the drop. Rawdon remains as the county's fifth most-populated township and one of the most pleasant in which to live.

Advertisement for Dr. Boulter's Pharmacy, 1860. Dr. Boulter was county warden in 1867.

Chapter 47

Stirling .

> *"It is a very pretty rural place, and is fast rising towards the dignity of a town."*
>
> *(Susanna Moodie, 1852)*

The village of Stirling had its beginning about 1797, when it was only a mill site on Rawdon (or Salmon) Creek. Early records show that on August 28, 1797, John Bleecker and Caleb Gilbert, who had settled in the front part of Sidney, were allotted Lot 11 in Rawdon township (land now part of the village) on condition that they build mills within two years. Bleecker died before the mills were completed, and Samuel Rosebush completed the work in 1807.

In the 1820's and 1830's, settlers from the British Isles began to arrive in the Stirling area. Among the earliest was Robert Parker. who came from Ayr, near Stirling, Scotland, in 1821. Parker came out to look after his family's interest in the Marmora Mines but later purchased land in Rawdon Township, constructed a mill at Wellman's Corners, entered into the timber export trade, and operated "Parker's Tavern" at Stirling. Along with Edward Fidlar, the owner of the Stirling mills after 1831, Parker helped to shape the growth and development of Stirling in its earlier days.

The present village has been known by several names — Fidlar Mills (after mill owner Edward Fidlar); Seldon Mills (after a former mill owner, Sheldon Hawley, a prominent Trenton businessman); and Rawdon Mills or Rawdon Village (after the township). A witty friend of Susanna Moodie once suggested that, instead of Rawdon, it ought to be called "Fidlar's Green". Mrs. Moodie almost agreed, since she believed that it was to Fidlar's "energy and industry" that the community mainly owed its existence. Moreover, Fidlar served as the first postmaster in 1853.

The present name was given the community in the middle of the nineteenth century, because the Scottish people thought that the surrounding countryside closely resembled that of Stirlingshire in Scotland, whence many of them had come.

In 1832, there were probably only a half dozen houses where Stirling now stands. By 1846, the hamlet had acquired a population of about 125 persons, and boasted one grist and saw mill, two stores, and four taverns.

Stirling grew slowly. In 1850, it was reported that the village was only then beginning to make any progress. The clearing of the timber from the surrounding land led the settlers to turn more to agriculture; hence, Stirling developed as a market town.

The population in 1850 was about four hundred, and there was a grist mill, a saw mill, two tanneries, an ashery, and a distillery, as well as various shops. The Sidney, Rawdon, and Victoria Road Company completed its plank road between Belleville and Stirling in 1851; this was a toll road.

In 1858, Stirling was incorporated as a village. Carefully preserved records show that Nicholas Lake served as the first reeve (1860-61), while John N. Ward was the village clerk.

Several of the village's first churches were erected in this period: Wesleyan Methodist Church (1853), St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (1856), Episcopal Methodist Church (1858), St. John's Anglican Church (1860). The Roman Catholic Church of St. James the Minor dates from 1875.

By 1860, the population was estimated at about one thousand. The *Directory of the County of Hastings, 1860-61*, provides this interesting description of the village:

"The village of Stirling . . . is surrounded by a good agricultural country, and being in a central position commands a large trade. Its buildings are of an excellent class, well furnished, and composed of durable material. It has made rapid progress within the past few years, and from its natural position, and having an enterprising and wealthy people, is destined to become an important Inland Town. There are several first-class dry goods stores and grocery shops, and mechanics of various kinds. It has one of the finest flouring mills in the county — a substantial stone building, 4 stories high, and 50 by 72 feet — carried on by Mr. William Baker. There is also a Woollen factory, a Sash and Blind factory, Tanneries, Carriages, Cabinet and Cooper's shops. The village has a pleasant situation, and is remarkably healthy."

Stirling's main street as it appeared in 1914.

Stirling as it appeared on a 1914 picture postcard.

Unfortunately, Baker's fine flour mill was destroyed by fire in 1866. D. McDougall then fitted up the four story woollen factory as a flouring mill, run partly by steam and partly by Rawdon Creek. Its capacity was a hundred barrels a day.

Stirling is typical of many other district villages in its gradual modernization over the last seventy-five years. After disastrous fires on June 14, 1883, and August 9, 1909, destroyed large sections of the town, a steam fire engine was purchased in the winter of 1908-1909. This was an upright steam boiler drawn by a team of horses. The owner of the team of horses to arrive first at the fire hall was paid. A black team, owned by Robert Fletcher, were so well trained that they would start for the fire hall, almost automatically, whenever they heard the fire bell. A regular fire brigade was organized in 1909. Earlier, in 1897, the horticultural society was formed. In 1900, the first telephone system was set up. It consisted of six telephones, three of which were to be found in hotels, one in Ferguson's livery, one in the Grand Trunk Railway Station, and one in the residence of George Scott, who operated the exchange. Hydro electric power came to Stirling in February, 1910, supplied by the Seymour Power Company. The Board of Trade, now called the Chamber of Commerce, was set up in 1914. Today the village's population is about 1,300.

The passage of time has seen the removal of many historic landmarks. Among these was a famous elm tree, standing in the centre of the village. It was beneath its branches in 1921 that Arthur Meighen is said to have delivered his first speech as prime minister of Canada.

Chapter 48

Huntingdon Township

> *"The people are apparently prosperous and happy;*
> *neat comfortable dwelling houses and well appointed*
> *outbuildings have superseded the log shanty and lean-*
> *to of the early settlers . . ."*
>
> (*Belden's Atlas*, 1878)

Huntingdon Township, like Rawdon and Hungerford townships takes its name from the family of Francis Rawdon-Hastings, a British statesman of the eighteenth century who was descended from the Earls of Huntingdon. Along with Rawdon Township, it had been set aside for settlement by a group of men who planned to bring in settlers, in return for large grants of land. However, no settlers arrived, and the township was declared vacant in 1796.

For many years after 1800, Huntingdon was a wilderness. In 1817, Robert Gourlay estimated that in the whole township there were only four families, consisting of twenty-four persons. These may have been the Ketcheson and Ostrom families from the front, in addition to Anthony Denike and Philip Luke, who had settled near the present village of Moira. Other early settlers at Moira included the Dalys and Daniel Wood.

Perhaps as early as the 1820's, a settlement was begun near West Huntingdon by the Ashley family. Other pioneers of the southern three concessions were the Vandewater, Hagerman, Spencer, VanTassell, Cronk, Thompson, Morton, and Clare families. Most of these settlers located in the western part of Huntingdon, and settlement gradually moved to the eastern limits.

Settlement in the southern half of Huntingdon was aided by the Canada Company, founded in 1824 by John Galt, the founder of Guelph and Goderich. The company acquired reserve lots in each Huntingdon concession in 1826, and in the next ten years settled much of this land. Still, there were only 104 inhabitants in 1829.

By 1831, the population stood at 161, and 287 acres of land were being worked. The livestock was limited to 12 horses, 56 cows, and 34 oxen, and there were no mills or shops in the township. By 1835, 437 inhabitants worked 1,222 acres.

Transportation was improved after 1827, when the Canadian government set aside £75 to improve the road leading north to Madoc Township; later, a bridge was built across Moira Lake, so that the pioneers no longer had to take their oxen across by raft. On many early maps, Moira Lake appeared as Hog Lake. The name came from the Hog's Back, a rock formation resembling a hog's back, which rock was above water most of the time.

An early community just south of Hog Lake was the Scotch Settlement, settled by such families as Blakelys, Gordons, and McGuires. Northwest of Hog Lake was the Irish Settlement, with the Bailey, Keene, and Cooney families.

Perhaps the first town meeting, to elect officials and establish regulations for fences and so on, took place on January 5, 1836. Philip Luke, a tavern operator near West Huntingdon was elected town clerk. These early town meetings caused great excitement, since the "west towners" from West Huntingdon came in force, armed with clubs. Fortunately, township business was usually settled in a friendly manner, and there was little need to resort to clubs.

The old Fuller School (S.S. No. 8), showing the interesting architecture of the nineteenth century.

Many of the early settlers were Protestant Irish, ministered to by the Wesleyan Methodist circuit riders and the occasional Anglican missionary. As late as 1837, there were "neither churches nor chapels" in the township, the services being held in private houses or at the school house.

As in the other townships, the early settlers were very hospitable. The doors were never locked, and no one knocked at a door. The sound of a neighbour's footstep was sweet music. When visitors were leaving, it was customary to walk a short distance with them.

By 1837, Huntingdon possessed several craftsmen, one store, one tavern, two saw mills, and one grist mill. *The Intelligencer* noted:

"Munro's Mills are all the mills this township can at present claim, but as there are others in progress, and as the want of mills has been a serious detriment to the township, it is expected that when the others get into operation, they will mutually facilitate the settling of the township."

W. B. Tanner's Trading Waggon, Ivanhoe, bringing the general store's merchandise to the farmer's door.
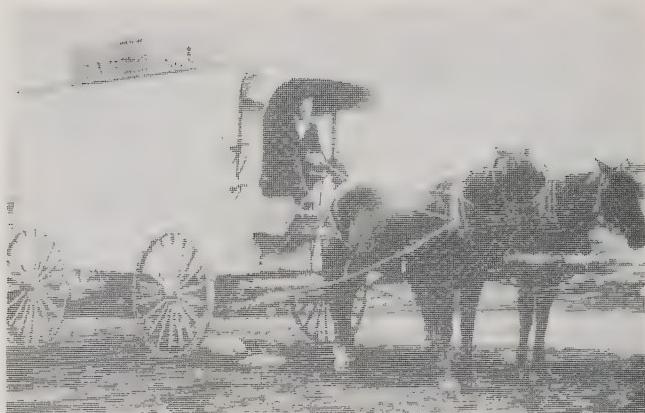
In fact, *The Intelligencer* was in error, since Munro's Mills were in Hungerford Township, on the site of Tweed. The population stood at 741 in 1837, and by 1840 this had increased to 853. Although there were six schools, only two of these were frame (the others being log), and they were said to have "an indifferent staff of teachers" in the 1840's.

Most of the vacant arable lands in Huntingdon were settled by 1850, when the population stood at 2,196. There were then eight saw mills in the township, and the farms produced 21,000 bushels of wheat, 14,000 pounds of maple sugar, 5,100 pounds of butter, and large crops of oats and peas. The sheep contributed 6,000 pounds of wool.

After the 1850's, when the population peak of almost 3,000 was reached, there was a gradual decline. People moved from rural to urban areas. In 1940, the figure was below 1,500 where it has remained.

Huntingdon Township Council came into being in 1850. One of its first acts (By-Law Nine) was to provide a fine of five shillings for any person convicted of keeping a dangerous dog. Township taxes in 1850 amounted to £150, two-thirds of which went as part payment for the township hall. This stone building was erected at Moira on land costing £10. Council allowed the hall to be used for division court, agricultural education, and temperance meetings.

The village of Moira was the seat of township government from 1850 to 1918. It was also the site of the first township post office, and in 1854 the Methodists erected a church on land given by Henry Ketcheson. Earlier, perhaps before 1845, the Quakers are said to have erected a meeting house. Moira was a typical country village in the mid nineteenth century. Samuel Ketcheson operated a butcher shop, while F. M. Brenton ran a general store and a tailor shop. Alexander Irvine and his wife wove and sold homespun, and Mr. Irvine also made coffins, which he retailed for the modest sum of five dollars. Wool carpets were made by Mr. Clapp. The McTaggarts operated a fanning mill to clean the grain. The Dean family operated a furniture factory and kept a tavern, while Ira Hoskins made carriages, sleighs, farm waggons, buggies, cutters, and other vehicles. By 1870, the Moira Cheese Factory was opened.

Another important centre was Ivanhoe, which in 1918 became the seat of township government. Among Ivanhoe's early settlers were William Mitts (Mitz), Hugh MacMillan, John Wood, and the Carscallen, Burnett, and Roy families, most of whom arrived between 1832 and 1837. On July 1, 1851, the government opened a post office called St. George. The name was unsatisfactory, since most of the families traced their origins to Scotland or Ireland. Accordingly, St. George became Ivanhoe on April 1, 1857. The new name was suggested by Thomas Emo, a young school teacher who had come from Ireland about 1845 and who admired Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe*. For many years Emo served as reeve of Huntingdon, and in 1875 he was county warden. The first church in the Ivanhoe area was St. John's Presbyterian, erected in 1867; it was followed by St. Andrew's in 1882.

Loyal Orange Lodge at West Huntingdon, circa 1900.

About 1870, a cheese factory was built near Ivanhoe. Until that time, milk had to be taken to the Halloway Cheese Factory in Thurlow, built in 1867. Because of the lack of refrigeration facilities, cheese was made twice a day. This meant a twenty-four hour operation for the cheesemaker; and the milk drivers would leave Ivanhoe for Halloway shortly after midnight on Monday mornings, so that they could make two trips a day. The first president of the Ivanhoe Cheese Factory was Henry Gauen, a former British sailor who had been with the McClure Expedition in the 1850's in the unsuccessful search for Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin. The cheese factory was renamed Beulah in 1889.

The community of Fuller took its name from John Fuller, a pioneer settler. Other early settlers included Martin Mitts, who walked into the area on foot from Thomasburg about 1830 and became the district's first

known white settler; Isaac Peck, and (Mr) General McCumber. A stone school was built in 1850. The Bible Christians were the first denomination to build a church, but the building was used by other groups. An important industry was the Fuller Consolidated Sand and Gravel Company, which closed about 1952.

Mining has played a role in the township's growth. In addition to sand and gravel operations, talc and fluorspar have been worked profitably. In 1899, the Wellington (later Henderson) Talc Mine began, and some thirteen years later the Connolly Mine's first shaft was sunk. Much of the fluorspar mined in Ontario has come from Huntingdon Township. The first fluorspar was mined in 1912 from the Perry property, just north of Moira Lake. Total production of fluorspar, used in the production of steel, amounted to over 100,000 tons. The limestone quarries at Crookston provided employment for many persons in the first quarter of this century.

Despite its inland position, the waterways have been important. For example, in the 1870's, Moira Lake was said to provide the restaurants of New York City with such delicacies as turtles, while the township's swamps and marshes abounded with wild duck. To-day, about 250 cottages dot the shoreline of Moira Lake, and the area has developed into a valuable summer cottage settlement.

A century and a half have passed since the arrival of the first settlers. Many of their descendants are still to be found in the township, working the land their ancestors cleared in the days before Confederation.

A group of Hydro workmen posed for this picture while grouped about the blacksmith's anvil in Huntingdon.

Chapter 49

Hungerford Township

> *"I am sorry to be obliged to remark that I did not meet*
> *with one good lot of land in the whole course of my*
> *survey of Hungerford. It is one entire continuation of*
> *Rock and Swamp."*
>
> (*Alexander Aitken, 1797*)

Hungerford Township, with an area of about 93,000 acres, is the largest single township in Hastings County. It is drained by the Moira, Clare and Skootamatta rivers, as well as by Parks, Black and Otter creeks. Within its borders is Stoco Lake, said to have been named after a Mississauga chief, Stougcong. As early as 1834, a Kingston newspaper referred to the seventeenth century dispute between the Mohawks and the Mississaugas over the ownership of the lake and the surrounding countryside, which both tribes claimed for a hunting ground. In September, 1698, the Mohawks are said to have driven the Mississaugas from the area and to have taken up a strong position on elevated ground, on the north bank of the Moira. The retreating Mississaugas met their gallant chief Stougcong (or Stoco), who persuaded them to renew the battle. Many died in the resulting attack, and when it appeared that the Mohawks were losing, the Mohawk chief challenged Stougcong to single combat. After a long fight, "a deadly blow, well directed from Stoco's strong arm, laid Mohawk dead at his feet". The remaining Mohawks fled, and the Mississaugas named the lake Stoco, in honour of the brave chief. Even after the coming of the Loyalists in 1784, the Mississaugas continued to fish and hunt at Stoco Lake.

The township takes its name from Francis Rawdon-Hastings, who was descended from the Barons of Hungerford.

In 1797, Alexander Aitken surveyed part of the township, but his conclusion was that the rock and swamp made the land "so very bad that I am afraid to offer it to any person". Nevertheless, when the best lands in the front townships were filled, the government decided to take a second look at Hungerford. In 1822, Samuel N. Benson surveyed large sections, for which work he received grants in the township, as partial payment. The story is told that the Clare River received its name at this time, after Thomas Clare, a chain-bearer with Benson's survey party. Clare is said to have fallen into the creek, disappeared under the ice, and miraculously surfaced through an air hole down stream. To commemorate the event, Benson named it the Clare River.

The first permanent settlers probably came about 1826 to Sugar Island, on the south side of Stoco Lake. These settlers were Owen Dirkin and Martin Donohue, and they were soon followed by Philip Huffman and Nichol Conlin. Sugar Island was so named because the Indians made maple sugar there every spring.
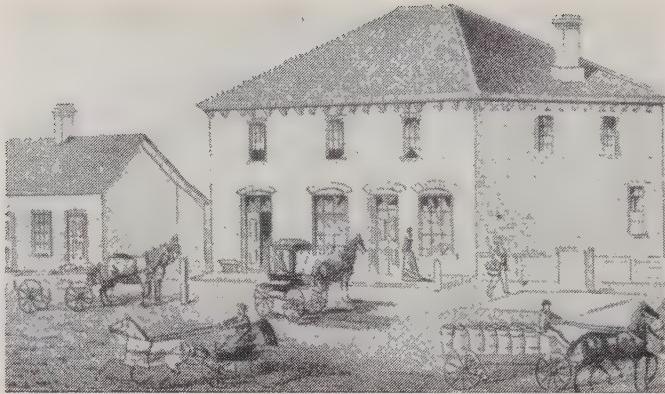
Murphy's General Store at Stoco, 1878.

Settlement after 1826 was aided by the Canada Company, which sold reserve lots obtained from the Crown. Early settlers included the Gabourie, Host, Way, Close, Martin and Kerr families. The most popular settlement area continued to be the land near Stoco Lake, and the village of Tweed (called Munro in the early 1830's) sprang up. By 1836, Trumpour's sawmill was operating near Chapman or Chapman's Corners (founded by Alexander Chapman). In 1833, there were 192 inhabitants; however, this increased to 333 in 1834, 420 in 1835, and 506 by 1838. The acreage under cultivation more than doubled from 736 acres in 1835 to 1,645 in 1838. There were no schools, churches, stores, or taverns in 1837, although the township would soon acquire these features of civilization.

With the beginning of township councils in 1850, it was decided to erect a town hall at Georgetown, a mile south of Tweed on the banks of Stoco Lake. Land for the hall was donated by Felix Gabourie, the founder of Georgetown. Earlier town meetings had been held at John Way's house or Caton's School House at Chapman's Corners.

By the 1850's, Hungerford's population had passed Huntingdon's, but there still was much unsold Crown land. New settlements began. East of Stoco Lake, Abraham L. Bogart of Belleville purchased a large tract on the Clare River about 1853 and built a saw mill and grist mill. The growing community was known as Bogart's Mills and later Bogart. The first concession between Chisholm's Mills and Marlbank began to fill up. Among the communities were Moneymore, so called by early Irish settlers after a community in their homeland; Lime Lake, taking its name from the local mineral deposit, from which high quality cement was made; and Marlbank, originally called Allen's Mills, named for its deposits of marl. Before 1900, both Lime Lake and Marlbank played a major role in the industrial empire of the Rathbun Company of Deseronto.

At the west end of the fourth concession, the post village of Thomasburg was founded by Thomas Clare, who became the first postmaster in 1853. The community was named for three early settlers: Thomas Clare, Thomas Nichols and Thomas Graham. Thomas Graham establish-

ed a woodworking, carriage and casket shop in what is now the Independent Order of Oddfellows Hall. In 1878, Thomasburg also had two general stores, a tannery, a large cheese factory, a potash works, four churches, an Orange Hall, a good common school, and 200 people.

Agriculture was the lifeblood of the township. The 539 occupiers of land in 1861 were cultivating 23,067 acres of land. Principal crops were wheat (43,000 bushels), rye (15,000 bushels), peas (40,000 bushels), oats (53,000 bushels), potatoes (55,000 bushels), maple sugar (48,000 pounds), and butter (92,000 pounds). The township's total population stood at 4,354.

View of the Nichols Chemical Company operations at Sulphide, 1913.

By 1870, settlement in Hungerford was largely complete, and there was little change in population during the next fifteen years. Most of the present communities had been established, including Otter Creek, taking its name from the many otters that inhabited the meandering, sluggish stream; Farrell's Corners, named after the first settler, Vincent Farrell; Duff's Corners, founded by George Duff, who operated a blacksmith shop; and Larkin, named after David Larkin. In 1878, the small post village of Stoco had 100 people, and Thomas Mulroney's carriage factory provided employment. Georgetown remained the seat of township government, and the "finest town hall in the county . . . surrounded by a neat picket fence" was erected there in 1877 at a cost of $2,500. As a centennial project in 1967, Hungerford Township has renovated the hall and added an office wing, which project was one of the first four in Canada to be approved and completed.

The county mining boom of the late nineteenth century affected Hungerford. About 1880, the American Madoc Mining Company set up

Proclamation

County of Hastings, { **Whereas by Her Majesty's Letters Patent**
To Wit : { to me directed, **A PUBLIC FAIR OR MART** is appointed to be held

AT THE VILLAGE OF STOCO,

on the FIRST Tuesday in the Month of May, and the **SECOND** Wednesday in the month of October, respectively, in each and every year, to commence at **9** o'clock in the morning, and to continue each time, respectively, until Sunset.

NOW KNOW YE,

That in my capacity of High Sheriff of the said County of Hastings, I do hereby give notice, that the said public

FAIR OR MART

will be duly opened by me at the Village of STOCO, on **WEDNESDAY**, the **TENTH DAY OF *OCTOBER* NEXT**, at **NINE** o'clock in the Morning.

J. W. DUNBAR MOODIE,
HIGH SHERIFF.

Sheriff' Office, September 14th, 1860.

Intelligencer Print.

Hungerford Mine as a gold mine. This property, north-east of Tweed, was taken over about 1900 by the Nichols Chemical Company for the production of sulphides. The village of Sulphide was built nearby.

Shortly before 1900, Hungerford reached a population peak of about 5,000. However, the movement from country to cities reversed the trend, and by 1950 there were only 2,000 people. At the end of 1964, the loss of a large share of its sulphuric acid market (with the shutdown of the Bancroft uranium mines) forced the Nichols Chemical Company plant at Sulphide to close. In recent years the plant had employed between fifty and sixty persons.

Hungerford remains an important agricultural township. Although its original prospects were not good and its settlement began later than elsewhere in the southern six townships, its people have developed a proud tradition. This can be seen in the rebuilding of the Thomasburg United Church. The church (erected in 1881) was destroyed by fire on September 26, 1963; exactly a year later, a new church was dedicated. The same spirit can be seen in the celebrations attending the centennial of Christ Church (Anglican) at Thomasburg in 1960. The following description of Hungerford is as true to-day as it was in 1878 when it was written:

"Societies organized, churches built, stores convenient, schools excellent, mills abundant and flourishing, and every convenience at hand, make a prosperous and happy rural people."

North America's smallest jailhouse, now operated as a tourist information booth and office by the Tweed Chamber of Commerce. Measuring 16 by 20 feet, the jailhouse originally contained three cells, each about six by seven feet. The building was completed in 1900 on land sold to the village of Tweed by the Township of Hungerford for one dollar.

Chapter 50

Tweed

"Hungerford Mills, recently named Tweed, is notorious for being the residence of a host of drunken loafers, who are constantly quarrelling and annoying the peacible portion of the inhabitants."

(*Brighton Sentinel, 1853*)

Until its incorporation as a village in 1890, Tweed was part of Hungerford Township. The village had its beginning in the 1830's, when Allan Munro established the Hungerford Mill. A visitor in August, 1834, noted that the settlement,to which Munro had "taken the liberty of giving his own name", was divided by the Moira River. Already there were two saw mills and one grist mill at the site. Among the pioneers was Richard Woodcock, who in 1828 had become the first white settler.

Tweed's early growth was slow, partly because of its nearness to Georgetown, a mile distant; however, Tweed soon replaced Georgetown as the township's chief population centre. By 1856, Georgetown had only 60 inhabitants, while Tweed had about 300. The two communities gradually grew together.

In the 1850's, Tweed became the fourth main centre on the Moira River, behind Belleville, Cannifton, and Madoc. It was the jumping off point for those wishing to move to the northern townships, since a stage line linked Belleville and Tweed by 1856. The village remained a lumber centre and had two saw mills and two lumber merchants in the early fifties.

There was some fear that the village might not grow, owing to a bad reputation. The *Brighton Sentinel* noted in 1853 that Tweed had become "the residence of a host of drunken loafers". The paper cautioned: "The village is well situated, and grows rapidly, but as long as it is infested by such lawless, blood-thirsty, *murderous wretches* it cannot be expected to become a place of much importance, as but few Christians will care to risk their lives among such company."

Apparently the Christians did continue to move to Tweed. The village's population in 1860 was over 400, and there was an Anglican Church and a Bible Christian chapel.

By the 1860's, Tweed had several stores, a flouring and saw mill, operated by James Jamison, and a woollen factory leased by Alonzo Howe, as well as tin, carriage and blacksmith shops. According to one observer, 'All it wants is energy and enterprise, to make it a flourishing town." The neighbouring Elzevir Township village of Bridgewater offered competition to Tweed's further growth.

The village continued to expand. By 1878, it was showing evidence of becoming an "important inland town". Additional mills had been built, an excellent stone school accommodated 200 pupils, and two Methodist churches had been erected. The Masonic Lodge was meeting in its new hall, and several local societies were meeting in the public hall over Dr. Pomeroy's drug store. The village's growth after 1880 continued slow but steady. Despite the decline of lumbering and the uncertain mining picture in centre Hastings, Tweed's industry expanded. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (and later the Napanee and Tamworth Railway) through Tweed offered an outlet for local produce, and the village became the centre for the trade of north Hungerford and Elzevir townships. By 1890, many new buildings were erected, including a sash and blind factory operated by Messrs. Vandusen and Houston, and a carriage factory owned by M. A. McGowan. Perhaps the most important industry in 1890 was George Easterbrook's "full roller process" flouring mill and grain elevator. Easterbrook also operated a saw mill.

James Jamison's lumber and flour mills at Tweed, 1878.

Tweed's growth led to its incorporation in 1891, after the village's separation from Hungerford was approved by county council on September 16, 1890.

To-day, according to the 1966 census, there are about 1,720 people in Tweed, which remains an important market centre. The village is the centre of the Tweed District of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. Tweed has attracted considerable attention in the Canadian press for its small stone jail house, restored as a tourist information centre by the Tweed Chamber of Commerce. This building, erected after 1899, served as a jail for many years and housed transients during the winters of the Great Depression. Tweed's election for the 1967 village council also has attracted national attention, since it appeared, for a time, that Tweed might have the country's first all-woman council. Women did capture the reeveship and two council seats.

Chapter 51

Marmora and Lake Townships

> *"The township abounds in mineral wealth; and no place in Canada presents a better field for the enterprising capitalist."*
>
> *(County of Hastings Directory, 1864-65)*

The history of Marmora Township is the story in miniature of mining in Eastern Ontario. Since 1820, this township has played a leading role in the development of iron mining (as described in chapter eleven). In addition, copper, lead, silver, gold, and lithographic stone have been exploited.

The discovery of iron ore deposits led Charles Hayes in 1820 to ask the provincial government to open up the area. On April 14, 1821, the government passed an act setting up Marmora Township and attaching it to Hastings County. The new township took its name from the Latin word for marble, because of "an immense rock of the most delicate white marble", which according to the Kingston *Chronicle* of December 6, 1822 "was enough to supply the whole country for ages". This giant rock stood on the south-east corner of Crowe Lake, which was named after the Crow Indians, a tribe of about thirty Indians living along Crowe Lake. About two miles north-east of the iron works, Beaver Creek entered the Crowe River. Beaver Creek was known for its beavers; in the fall of 1822, the Indians killed between thirty and forty of them. Both Crowe Lake and Beaver Creek were said to "abound with the largest black bass and maskenonge".

Although opened for sale in 1821, for some years there was little settlement outside the newly created mining village. The township seemed remote from the front, despite Charles Hayes' completion of a road to Louis Rosebush's farm at Rawdon Village (Stirling). The Kingston press tried to stress the rich timber, mineral, and agricultural possibilities of the township, and claimed in 1822 that settlers were pouring in, but this claim was largely wishful thinking.

By 1824, Marmora's population had reached the 400 mark. Most of these people were employed in the mines, and only 125 acres were being cultivated by farmers. Livestock numbered fewer than 70 animals, and total taxes came to £10. As a result of the iron works later closing down, because of the lack of capital and markets, the township's population fell to 202 in 1830. It remained below the 300 mark throughout the 1830's.

Large areas of poor soil handicapped farming. In 1835, only 1,006 acres were being cultivated, compared to 10,171 in Thurlow, and 14,-324 in Sidney. Marmora Township produced wheat, barley, and peas,

and several young orchards were said to be in a thriving condition, but a visitor in 1837 described the potash industry as providing the main export. The township possessed two religious centres — a Roman Catholic church and a Methodist chapel, as well as a school house, which had no teacher in 1837.

Transportation remained a major problem in the late 1830's. There was talk of a railroad from Marmora to the navigable waters of the Trent, or of a canal from the Trent across Sidney Township to Belleville, so as to open the Belleville and overseas markets to the farmers of Marmora and the other "back townships". Nothing came of either project at that time. *The Intelligencer* commented that a third scheme, a railroad from Belleville to Marmora perhaps via Madoc, would provide "speedy, easy and cheap advantages" especially for the iron mines.

The mines of Marmora produced a variety of products. The lithographic stone was used in the preparation of the plates for printing the county maps in the first county directory in 1860-61. By 1870, as a result of the discovery of gold in 1866 at nearby Eldorado, prospectors were active in Marmora, and gold and silver were being mined.

The 1860's saw a lumbering boom. In 1862-63, James Cummins took out the first timber licence, and A. S. Page, Pearce Company, Rathbun Company, Michael O'Brien, and other lumbering concerns later worked the forests. Some timber was made into potash. This industry was important from the 1830's to the end of the century. Mrs. Gertrude Caverly of Pleasant Corners in north Marmora remembers how the settlers cut down the trees, then piled and burned them. The ashes were put in a salt barrel, water was poured on, and the mixture was "boiled down until the kettle was red". The potash was sent away to a soap company, for cash.

Township seal in use before Confederation. The "C.W." is for Canada West, Ontario's proper name from 1841 to 1867.

Although mining and lumbering have been vital to the township, agriculture has probably supported more people since 1850. In 1864, the good lands were said to be in the hands of "thrifty and well-to-do-farmers". The 6,000 acres, being cultivated on 154 farms, yielded an annual crop of 20,000 bushels of potatoes, 19,000 bushels of wheat, 17,000 bushels of oats, 10,000 bushels of peas, 10,000 bushels of turnips, and small quantities of buckwheat, rye, and corn. About 25,000

pounds of maple sugar were manufactured. The 249 oxen, 841 cows, 337 horses, 990 sheep, and 723 pigs were valued at $43,894.

From the earliest years of Marmora's settlement, its immediate northern neighbour, Lake Township, has been associated with it. Named after Viscount Gerard Lake (1744-1808), a British military leader in Ireland and India, Lake Township was first surveyed by Henry Ewing in the fall of 1822. In 1851, there were no inhabitants; however, by 1860, more than twenty yeomen had begun to work its lands, mostly along the newly surveyed Hastings Road. The *Directory of the County of Hastings, 1860-61* explained that Lake Township was "filling up with an industrious population, and will doubtless in a few years be erected into a separate Municipality". In fact, this forecast was optimistic. Early settlers had difficulty locating their lands; many lots were held by speculators and absentee owners, rather than by bona fide settlers; and transportation and below-average soil conditions discouraged settlement. Even the copper and lead ores found in several locations failed to attract much interest at first,although in the late 1800's Kerslewan's and Smith's lead mines in the south-east corner were being worked.

Marmora is known throughout Canada for its mineral resources and their development. The Marmoraton Mines, located on about 2,000 acres just east of the village of Marmora, is the county's leading mineral producer to-day. Its workers are generally considered to be among the highest paid miners in Canada, since their wages are related to those paid American employees of the parent company, Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Accordingly, the iron ore of Marmora has played a dominant role in the township's development, from its creation in 1821 to its present prosperity.

The Pearce Saw Mill at Marmora was one of the county's leading lumber operations at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter 52

Marmora Village

"The village of Marmora is known all over Canada, and in many parts of the Old World, not on account of its size and wealth, but from its connection with the Marmora Iron Works . . ."

(County of Hastings Directory, 1864-65)

Marmora was the first village of importance in the central section of Hastings County. The opening of its iron works after 1820 (as described in chapter eleven) created a thriving community, second only to Belleville for many years.

As early as 1822, Marmora had a population of between 150 and 200 persons. It was a company town in a sense, since the iron works originally built and operated many of the businesses and provided housing for its workers. By 1823, lands were being offered for sale to other interested businessmen, and a grist mill and brewery were erected in that year.

The Roman Catholics built the first church in the village by 1830. The building, about 43 by 25 feet, was of native stone. The floor was of three inch thick pine planks, while a putty coat of white plaster covered the inside walls. The first pews were of pine, simple in construction.

The dam and covered bridge across the Crowe River at Marmora, circa 1900.

Marmora's history continued to be the history of the iron works, and when these shut down, as they did from time to time, the village suffered greatly. Fortunately, by 1860, lumbering and farming gained in importance, and the village merchants catered to these sources of trade.

As of 1864, there were 49 families resident in the village. The majority of the wage-earners were involved in supplying services to the surrounding inhabitants. John Devlin, Thomas Price, Patrick Shea, and Henry Weese were shoemakers, while Dennis Shannon was the village's tailor. There were two blacksmiths — Simon Armstrong and Charles
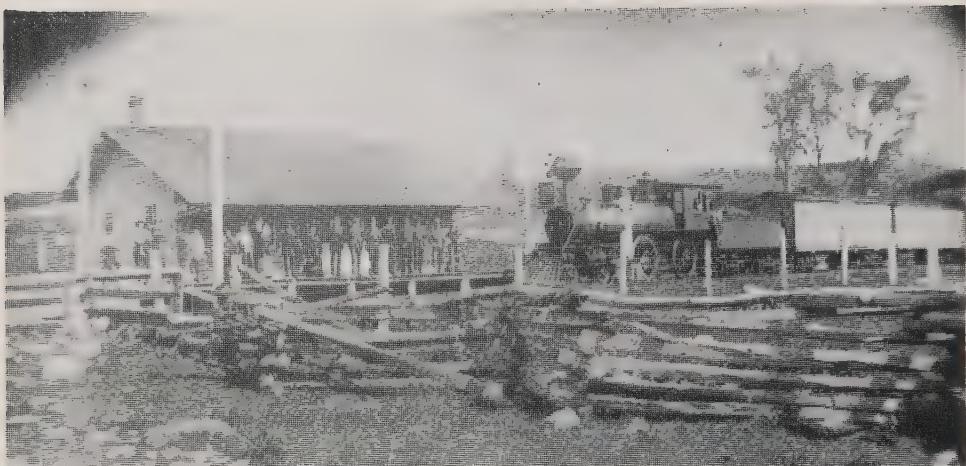
The first train to arrive at Marmora Station on the Central Ontario Railway line from Trenton to Coe Hill. For many years, the station was known as Wolf Station, since a man by that name was said to have been killed there.

Claremont. Thomas Warren was a carriage maker. James Ranney was a building contractor, G. L. Houston was a carpenter, Francis Revois was a shingle-maker, and Lewis and Jerome Tallion were cabinet-makers. Robert Wadsworth was a tinsmith. D. N. Powell operated a flouring mill and Levi Rose was a cooper. Land agents, mining company representatives, a division court clerk, a bailiff, and about three hotel keepers and general merchants also lived in the village. Reverend John Dowler was the Wesleyan Methodist minister. Seven heads of families were described as labourers, four as yeomen (farmers), two as clerks, and one as a miner.

Marmora street scene, 1890's. At the right was the telegraph and telephone office, while the frame building at the extreme left housed the billiard parlour.

The mining boom touched off by the gold discovery at Eldorado in 1866 made the village grow. Reverend Charles Mountain Harris became the first resident Anglican rector, and the corner-stone for St. Paul's Church was láid on September 1, 1874. The same year, the Methodists erected a church. Earlier, Rev. Philip Rose, Rev. John Dowler, and Rev. N. H. Howard had ministered to the Methodists.

At the east end of the village was the "Common Cemetery", now the Protestant Burial Grounds. Here was buried Royal Keys, a native of Fermanach, Ireland, who died on July 28, 1871, aged 107 years, 1 month, and 26 days. Keys was one of the few centenarians in an age when life expectancy was much shorter than it is to-day.

The arrival of the animal trainer and two trained bears was an important event in the life of the young people at Marmora in the early 1900's.

The years since 1875 have seen the slow, steady growth of Marmora to a present village of 1,300 persons. The arrival of the Central Ontario Railway opened a rail link with Trenton. In 1901, the village was separated from the township; Joseph Warren was the first reeve, which office he held for ten years. In 1904, the present Roman Catholic Church was erected, after the second one had been struck by lightning and burned in 1903. The Marmoraton Mining Company development of the 1950's and 1960's has furthered the village's prosperity.

A present resident, Miss Grace Warren, sums up Marmora's development:

"We have much to be proud of in our little community. Like many other communities its boom years come and go; but, like the stream, life goes on, and many good citizens have lived with our community in good years and bad. May it continue in the following century!"

Deloro

The story of a company town that wouldn't die.

The village of Deloro grew out of the gold rush days in Hastings County. Following the discovery of gold at Eldorado in 1866, prospectors sank countless shafts in the neighbouring lands of the Canadian Shield. At least twenty-five of these shafts were on the site of the present village. The district came to be called Deloro, meaning "Valley of Gold".

About 1896, an English company, Canadian Goldfields Limited, purchased properties at Deloro. This operation continued until 1903, and over $300,000 worth of gold and arsenic was mined. From 1899 to 1904, the Atlas Gold and Arsenic Mining Company also took out substantial quantities of these minerals.
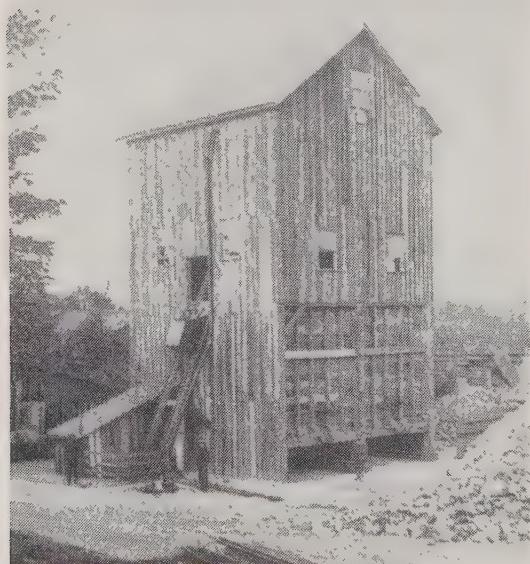
The Gatling or Main Shaft on the Deloro property as it appeared in the early 1900's. The old shops can be seen at left and the pile of second class ore at right.

Following the discovery of silver at Cobalt in northern Ontario, the Deloro Mining and Reduction Company purchased some of the Deloro properties and set up a silver refinery, with arsenic as an important by-product. It seemed logical to base the operations at Deloro, since the cobalt ore, in which the silver was found, also contained arsenic, and the Deloro mine operators had had experience with ores containing arsenic. The company made use of a new process, developed by Professor Stafford Kilpatrick of Queen's University, for extracting silver from cobalt ore.

In 1907, the Deloro Smelting and Refining Company began full-time operations and produced silver and arsenic. About 1914, the first

cobalt metal produced commercially in the world was manufactured at the Deloro plant. This led to the production of stellite (cobalt alloyed with tungsten and chromium). Stellite was a much sought-after war material.
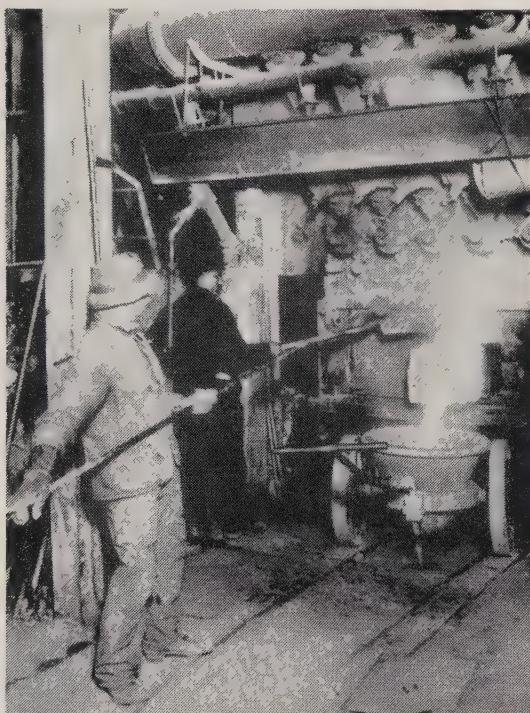
Tapping the blast furnace at Deloro, circa 1908.

Commencing in 1916, the company began to build homes for its employees. The same year the public school was built. Anxious to administer their own affairs, the villagers sought separation from Marmora Township. As a result, the village of Deloro was incorporated in 1919. The first reeve of the village was S. B. Wright, the plant's general manager, and for the next forty years succeeding plant managers traditionally served as reeves of the company-owned village. Deloro homes had piped water and sewers before Marmora and Madoc.

Deloro became famous as a sporting community. Baseball, hockey, soccer, tennis, and lawn bowling were important activities in the village's peak days.

A dwindling world market for cobalt in the 1920's led to large layoffs. However, when several silver mines in Cobalt closed after 1929, their silver-cobalt was shipped to Deloro at prevailing low metal prices. This stockpile kept the company operating until World War II, when the demand for cobalt boomed. After Belgium was overrun by the German army and the cobalt refining plant of Union-Miniere du Haut-Katanga near Antwerp came under German control, the allies turned for assistance

to Deloro, the only cobalt plant on the North American continent. At that time, Katanga was processing a crude alloy containing 42 per cent cobalt, 15 per cent copper, and 34 per cent iron. This crude alloy, shipped all during the war from the Belgian Congo to Deloro, was processed to recover refined cobalt for Katanga and cemented copper which was refined at the Noranda Copper Smelter.

The Korean War again showed the importance of the Deloro plant. and United States' government contracts for the treatment of Moroccan ore containing cobalt, nickel, gold, and arsenic kept the plant operating full strength to 1958. The company employed as many as 500 workers, of whom about 100 lived in the company-owned village. Then, Belgian competition, falling world prices, and the decline of silver mining in the Cobalt area dealt the company a crushing blow. There were no substantial customers to use the company's smelting and refining facilities.

In March, 1961, the plant closed down. Cleanup and demolition of the property followed. Tons of arsenite refuse were buried so that they would not be a health hazard. The chemical and research laboratory was moved to the Belleville plant of Deloro Stellite, a subsidiary of Deloro Smelting and Refining Company.

The company's closing had unfortunate effects on the economy of centre Hastings. Madoc and Marmora merchants lost business, while the Nichols Chemical Company at Sulphide, which had supplied the plant with acids, curtailed its operation and finally closed down when the Bancroft uranium mines shut down.

The 45 company-owned houses were sold by the company in 1961 at prices ranging up to $900. Many of the purchasers were retired people. while other buyers included workers employed at Marmoraton Mines or in Marmora Village. The residents named their own reeve and council, and to-day the village operates as a separate municipality, although the population is less than 200 persons.

View of the Deloro Smelting and Refining Company Plant, circa 1912.

Chapter 54

Madoc Township

*"The face of the country is not hilly but rather rolling
or undulating, abounding with never failing springs of
the purest water."*

Few townships in Hastings County have as interesting a history as
Madoc. Samuel de Champlain is said to have spent the winter of 1615 in
the area, hunting and recuperating from his wounds. The township took
its name from Madoc Ad Owaiin Gwynedd, a Welsh prince rumoured to
have discovered America about 1170. The gold rush of 1866-67 created
the village of Eldorado (from the Spanish *El Dorado* or fabulous city
of gold).

Madoc Township was attached to Hastings County and opened for
sale in 1821, but there was little settlement for some years. By 1824,
only 20 acres were being farmed, and the livestock consisted of 5 horses,
12 oxen, 13 cows, and 8 horned cattle. Annual taxes amounted to £2.
Among the first settlers was Michael Zerim, who settled near the O'Hara
community; he was followed by James O'Hara.

The improvement of the road to Madoc Township from Huntingdon
Township encouraged settlement, and in 1830 there were 139 settlers cul-
tivating 392 acres. Donald MacKenzie of Belleville opened a grist mill,
a saw mill, and a store, thus forming the nucleus for the village of Madoc.
The construction of an iron works at Madoc Village after 1836 offered a
market for the township's farmers. In 1836, about 81 families cultiva-
ted 932 acres and grew wheat (20 bushels to the acre), barley, oats, rye,
peas, and potatoes. This produce was used locally. The main export was
potash. A visitor to the township in 1837 described its development:

"There are not yet any buildings erected for religious worship, never-
theless there is service regularly at school and private houses, from the
Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodists, and occasionally from Presbyterian
and Episcopal clergymen. It is to be regretted that there are but two
school houses, which intimate a bad state of things in a population of
600."

In 1837, there were no distilleries or taverns in the township, and
the single store was at Madoc Village. The roads were described as being
generally "in a bad condition, as might be expected in a thinly popu-
lated township that is settling rapidly".

The 1830's and 40's brought a small tide of settlement. Early settlers
included Cyrus Riggs, Barnabas Vankleek, Thomas Allan, John R. Ket-
cheson (the township's first reeve in 1850), Jacob Hazzard, Levius Empey,

A Madoc resident was killed in 1911 when this threshing machine went down on Robinson's Bridge.
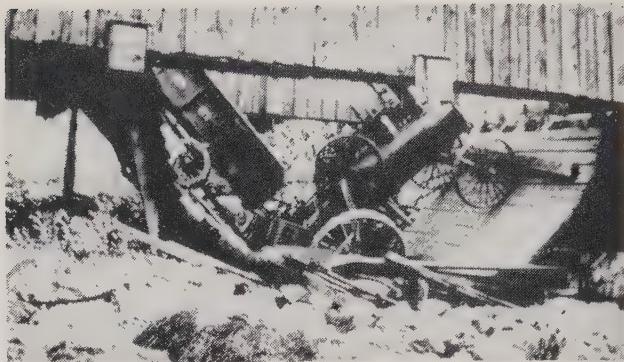
William Allen, and Robert Cooper. Pioneer names still commonly found are Carman, Shaw, Bateman, Conlin, Sandford, Chambers, Blakely, Nickle, Fox, and Robinson. About 1846 Henry Robinson brought his bride to a homestead just west of Eldorado. Robinson led the horse, which carried his bride, a half bag of flour, pork, and an axe. Like other Madoc pioneers' wives, Mrs. Robinson probably made her bread with lungwort, a growth found on maple trees. Gathered and dried, lungwort was used for leavening, in place of hops.

The Eldorado area was the heart of Madoc Township. Here, a Loyal Orange Lodge was begun in 1840. After 1850 the township hall was erected. This hall originally served the united townships of Tudor, Madoc, and Elzevir; however, in 1857 Elzevir separated, and Tudor followed in 1859. After fire destroyed the first hall in 1873, council met in a former Bible Christian Church near Eldorado until 1963, when Best's School became the township hall. Today the Eldorado Cheese and Butter Co-operative Factory is the lone survivor of ten cheese factories that once served the township.
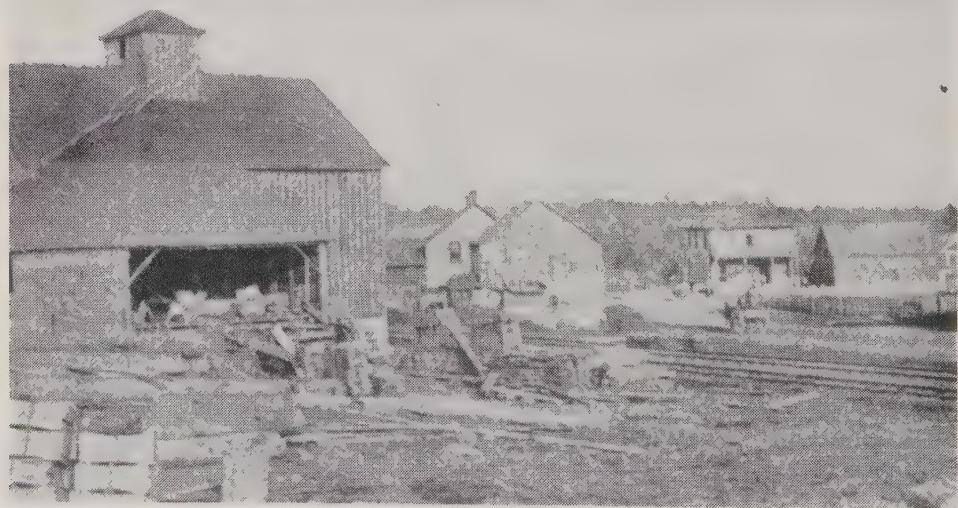
Among Eldorado's industries of the early 1900's was this shingle mill and box factory, pictured about 1910.

Other communities sprang up in the southern half of the township. Kellar's Bridge was named after a district farmer who built the first bridge there about 1840. Hazzard's Corners, about four miles north of Madoc, took its name from a pioneer family. In 1857, the inhabitants erected Hazzard's Methodist Church, a white church with a gleaming spire. A Bible Christian Church also was erected at Hazzard's Corners before 1860.

According to the 1861 census, 3,590 persons lived in the township. Of these, only 414 were termed "occupiers of land". Their chief crops were 69,000 bushels of potatoes, 62,000 bushels of oats, 57,000 bushels of wheat (mostly spring wheat), and 36,000 bushels of peas. The cash value of the farms and livestock was estimated at $580,000.

Lumbering developed in the 1860's, thanks to the Gilmour Company of Trenton and the Rathbun Company of Deseronto. The river drives down the Moira were an occasion, and school children at Bannockburn were given time off to watch.

The entrance to the Seymour Iron Mine as it appeared in the 1880's.

The fabulous gold rush after 1866 turned the township into a busy mining community. Prospectors and speculators were everywhere. The population was probably at a peak in the years from 1866 to 1870, but it is difficult to know how many people were there, since the government census was not taken until 1871. Despite the early failure of most mining ventures, the population in 1871 was over 3,000. Then the township lost people. There was less part-time farming and lumbering, causing some members of farm families to move away. By 1950, the population had dropped to 1,000, and to-day it stands at about 1,300.

Advertisements in The Madoc Mercury and North Hastings Mining News, August 3, 1867, show the impact of the mining boom.

Eldorado was the centre of the gold rush. At the peak of the excitement, men were said to have paid fifty cents for the privilege of sleeping under a wagon, and several hotels were opened in the area. Yet the community's star soon set, and the village's population and business declined. Towards the end of the century, the hematite iron mine two miles south of the village employed local miners, and for about three years before the Great War an American company operated iron and copper mines, along with a small-scale copper smelter.

Railroading offered employment. In 1882, the Central Ontario Railroad advertised in the Madoc newspaper for 200 men and 100 teams of horses to help build the line from Trenton to Coe Hill. The line was opened by 1884. Some township lands became valuable because of their cordwood, which was needed to fire the engines. Eldorado was the junction of the Central Ontario Railway and the Belleville and North Hastings Railway. Bannockburn also was a railway centre.

The 1880's saw the erection of many churches, including the Bible Christian Church north of Eldorado (about 1880), the Union Methodist Church, and St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church at Bannockburn.

Bannockburn was the most important community in northern Madoc Township. It was first known as Mumby's Mills after William Mumby, an English settler who established the first grist mill, some time before 1860. Mumby became involved with a Scot in a lawsuit over this mill. Hotel owner James Maitland called the struggle the Battle of Bannockburn, a reference to the hotly-contested battle in 1314 when the Scots defeated the English; the name has stayed with the community. In 1878, Bannockburn was described as a rising post village with flour and saw mills. Some gold mining had been carried out by the Toronto and Whitby

The O'Hara Mill, Madoc Township. The original mill was built about 1846 by James O'Hara, assisted by his carpenter brother-in-law, Ben Lear. In season it ran day and night with the O'Haras working in shifts. The muley saw was not particularly fast, and the story goes that the operators when sawing a large hard log, were able to start the saw in the cut and go to lunch returning in time to finish the cut! The mill was in fairly continuous operation until 1909. In 1954 the Moira River Conservation Authority purchased the mill and the surrounding 36 acres. The saw mill and its muley saw were restored and the O'Hara Mill Conservation Area now is a popular recreational and educational centre. This picture shows the interior during the rebuilding process.

Mining Company, but this had ceased by 1875. Then, in 1889, the discovery of the 'richest gold-bearing quartz vein . . . that has as yet been found in the County of Hastings" (according to surveyor C. F. Aylsworth) touched off a small gold rush.

From time to time, mining has set off other waves of excitement. About 1906, George H. Gillespie of Madoc set up a talc mill at Madoc Station. The mill was taken over by Henderson Talc Mines in 1918, and production rose to 120,000 tons in 1922. Canadian Talc and Silica Company also processed talc before World War I, and the operations were continued by Eldorado Mining and Milling Company until 1923. More recently, the Gillespie and Henderson properties have been taken over by Canada Talc Industries. Their talc mine is one of three in Canada and the only one where pure white talc is available. Talc is used for manufacturing paint, plastic paper, and roofing materials; less than one per cent of the Madoc mine's production goes for the manufacture of cosmetics.

Another important industry is the Stoklosar Marble Quarries, taking out marble for terrazzo floors and other purposes.

In 1967, Madoc Township residents can look back on a colourful and interesting history. The past 150 years have seen many changes, not the least of which is the gradual passing of the one-room school. A township school area was formed in 1954, and in 1961 a new $160,000 township school was opened to replace ten smaller schools.
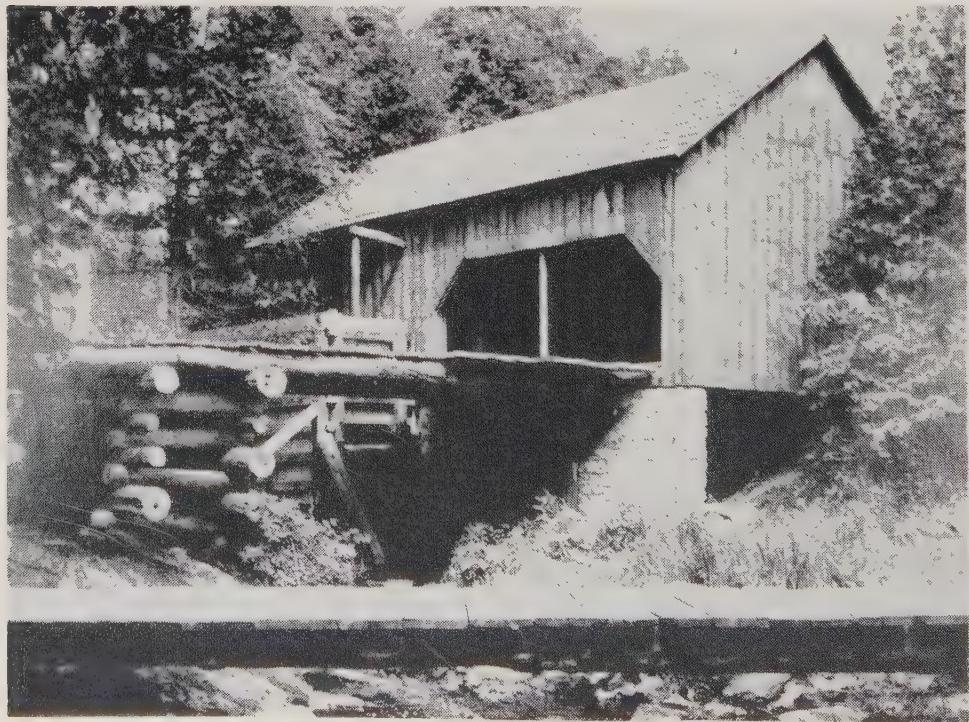
The O'Hara Mill as it appeared during the process of restoration.

Chapter 55

Madoc Village

"The day is not far distant when it will be one of the finest, one of the richest, one of the most desirable places of residence in Canada."

<div align="right">(The Christian Advocate, Aug. 11, 1880)</div>

From the beginning of Madoc Township's history, the site of the present village of Madoc has been the chief centre. Indian legend suggests that an important battle took place there between the Mohawks and the Mississaugas. Early settlers such as James O'Hara remarked on the Indian encampments, one of which stood at what is now the centre of the village, the intersection of Durham and St. Lawrence streets.

The village grew up around Donald MacKenzie's saw and flouring mill, erected about 1830 on Deer Creek, a tributary of the Moira River. MacKenzie also operated a store, the first in the township. The community was called MacKenzie's Mills for its first two decades, and then Hastings or Madoc Village. MacKenzie's mills prospered, and in 1835, he was reported to be "making thorough repairs and extensive additions to them at great expense in order to meet the growing demands on that establishment for the coming year."

Castings and Pig Iron.

THE Madoc Furnace is now in full blast, where Castings and Pig Iron, of superior quality, may be had at the lowest prices for prompt pay.

<div align="right">PENDERGAST & SEYMOUR.</div>

Belleville, Nov. 10, 1837.

A second important industry was also being built in 1835. An iron works was being constructed by Uriah Seymour and John G. Pendergast, backed by American capital. The iron works was south of MacKenzie's Mills, but within the boundaries of the present village. Up to one hundred persons were to be employed in the smelting of the magnetic oxide ore. This ore, said to be about seventy per cent pure iron, was brought from the Seymour Mine, about five miles north of the smelter. *The Intelligencer* called it the "best iron in the world". Thomas Rolph predicted in 1835 that the works would be "of great consequence to Madoc and the surrounding country". As of November 25, 1837, Pendergast and Seymour an-

This view of Madoc, circa 1870, shows Durham Street. The building at right was part of the first brick building in Madoc; it now houses Crest Hardware.

nounced that their furnace was in full operation and that "Castings and Pig Iron, of superior quality, may be had at reduced prices, for prompt pay." About four tons of pig iron a day were being produced, and the proprietors were talking of establishing a trip hammer to manufacture bar iron rails for the beginning railways. Unfortunately, the company encountered difficulties. In 1838, Seymour was forced to take over sole operation of the mine, following the discovery that Pendergast was using the name of the firm for his own private debts. Transportation was a problem, although a road was cut south to join the Marmora Road at Stirling. The lack of proper fuel made smelting difficult. Finally, about 1845, both the mine and the smelter closed.

Meanwhile, the village was developing along other lines. Mrs. Olmstead opened a private school about 1838. E. D. O'Flynn came to Madoc in 1842, and by 1851 he had started in the dry goods trade. At that time, the population was about 200, and Madoc boasted a grist and saw mill as well as a post office. The post office was always known as Madoc, although in the 1850's the village was renamed Hastings.

The reopening of the iron mines in 1851 boosted Madoc, and they remained in fairly continuous operation until 1880, despite transportation and fuel problems. By 1855, the village's population had increased to about 500, and Madoc was the third centre of size on the Moira River, behind Belleville and Cannifton. In December, 1855, Hastings County Council passed a by-law establishing "Hastings" as a police village, and there was talk of it later becoming the government centre for North Hast-

ings. Already Madoc was serving as a regional centre with a grammar school, erected about 1853, and a division court. Also in the 1850's, the Masonic Lodge was organized, with monthly membership dues of thirteen cents. By 1856, a stage line connected Madoc with Belleville. One of the early stage operators was James Tanner, whose stage ran through Ivanhoe to Belleville. Before this transportation link, early settlers were said to have walked to Belleville on foot, a journey of five days if grain or other produce was carried.

The north-western part of Madoc Village, showing the mill pond and the road to Eldorado, circa 1880. In the distance were the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. This view was taken from the Presbyterian Church tower.

The 1860's were boom years for Madoc. The village was the natural outlet for the trade of the Hastings Road. Agriculture was prospering, and mining was becoming more important, especially with the gold rush commencing in 1866. Between 1860 and 1864, perhaps forty fine homes were erected, as well as several new stores and a large grist mill. The new grist mill (1862) belonged to A. F. Wood, a well-to-do merchant who later served as township reeve for about twenty years and was prominent in planning for a northern railway through the county. Wood's mill was frame, three storeys in height, with water being supplied by a tank leading from a dam, about 150 feet up the stream. The mill's capacity was 75 barrels a day. Charles Kirk operated another flouring mill. It was intended that Kirk's mill be run by steam during the summer, when the water was low; but this was too expensive, and the mill operated on water power alone. Madoc's other industries in the 1860's included four carriage shops, five blacksmith shops, two cabinet shops, a planing mill, and a tannery. There were six general stores, five grocery stores, two tailors, two millinery shops, two butchers, one druggist (C. E. Wilson), a watchmaker (G. D. Rawe), and a photographer or "Daugerrean artist". Albert Smallfield edited the Madoc *Mercury*.

Reverend David Wishart, minister of St. Peter's Presbyterian Church at Madoc for over forty years. Reverend Wishart, a native of Scotland, settled at Madoc in 1856. He was responsible for much of the village's prosperity, according to Belden's Atlas, 1878. His private residence was the first stone building in the place. He built two other churches in Madoc Township and was instrumental in the erection of a church in Huntingdon Township, and also two others on the Hastings Road. The erection in the 1870's of St. Peter's, Madoc, was also chiefly due to his exertions and has been described as a "lasting monument to his memory". Along with many other Madoc residents, Reverend Wishart and his family were all very much afflicted by the "malaria" epidemic of 1880-81. This epidemic followed the building in 1877 of a dam that raised the level of Moira Lake by four feet. Much land was flooded, and many persons suffered from the plague. About 1882, the dam was blown up, and the epidemic died down.

St. Peter's Presbyterian Church, Madoc, photographed soon after its erection in 1877-78.

By 1864, there were four churches—Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, Episcopal Methodist, and Roman Catholic. The cornerstone for the Anglican Church of St. John the Baptist was laid in 1865.

Residents had access to the township library of "300 volumes of miscellaneous character". On payment of one cent to E. Mouncey, who was librarian as well as tailor and township treasurer, a book could be borrowed for two weeks. Religious books could be borrowed from the 420 book library in the Presbyterian Church. Also flourishing were the Madoc Mechanics Institute, which arranged lectures, a chess club, two cricket clubs, and a volunteer fire company.

By 1865, the village population was almost 900. Then the gold rush swelled the community, and the newly-erected North American Hotel (operated by William Hudgins) and the well established Hastings House (operated by Lyman Moon) were unable to handle all the would-be millionaires.

Durham Street about 1890, looking north towards the Roman Catholic Church. The site of the Windsor Hotel is now occupied by Blue's Hotel.

Although the gold mining boom declined in the 1870's, Madoc remained a busy community. The local foundry smelted iron to produce rails for the Grand Junction Railway. The potash trade remained important. The names of Rathbun, Gilmour, and Lingham were connected with profitable lumbering operations, and many logs came down Deer Creek to the Moira River. A fire in 1873 destroyed a large section of the town, but the burned out section was rebuilt. Then, in 1878, Madoc was incorporated as a village, with its own council and representation on county council. There was more talk of establishing a separate district (or county) with Madoc as the district town. By 1880, a new model school to accommodate 250 pupils was built, as well as a new Presbyterian Church, described as "a credit to any city".

The village population in 1880 was said to be approaching the 1500 mark, but it failed to reach that point. In the 1880's the local iron mines closed and lumbering began to fall off. The Canadian Pacific Railway line from Ottawa to Toronto dipped south through Tweed, by-passing Madoc.

Madoc's wish to be the seat of county government led to friendly rivalry with Belleville. On September 25, 1890, the *North Hastings Review* commented:

Madoc, _____ 188__

M___ _____

Bought of M. M^CLEAN,

Dealer in Dry Goods,
Groceries, Millinery,
Hats, Caps, Furs,
Boots and Shoes, etc.

Dresses and Mantles
Made to Order.

McLean's Dry Goods Store at Madoc used this interesting statement in the 1880's. Conservative leader John A. Macdonald is shown talking to Liberal leader Alexander Mackenzie.

"Thirty-five men and one woman are now confined in Belleville jail. The remainder of the community will be received as fast as accommodations will permit."

Since 1890, Madoc's population has remained near the thousand mark although recently it has swung upwards to about 1,400. The building of Highway Seven in the 1930's brought the village the east-west link it sorely needed.

For a village of its size, Madoc has been associated with a great many prominent Canadians. These have included C. F. Aylsworth Jr., a noted surveyor; William Mackintosh, school inspector; his son, W. A. Mackintosh, former principal of Queen's University; A. F. Wood, who served as county warden for ten years (1863-66, 68-72, 74) the longest term of any warden; E. D. O'Flynn, who founded the first private bank in Madoc; Dr. Allan Roy Dafoe, who attended the birth of the Dionne quintuplets in 1934 and was in charge of their early welfare; and Senator George White, former speaker of the Senate. In these and its other citizens, Madoc has always taken sincere pride. To-day, the village's greatest resource remains its people.

River driving on the Scootamatta River, circa 1900.

Chapter 56

Elzevir and Grimsthorpe Townships

"The water of the springs is good, but nearly all the Creeks is ponded by the Beavers till the water is Stagnated, yellow and bad."

(*Willson Conger, 1821*)

Willson Conger was the first man to study Elzevir Township. A land surveyor, he completed a survey of the township for the provincial government in May of 1821. The government had ordered the survey, before officially joining the township to Hastings County and opening the lands for sale. Conger found many obstacles to settlement. Although part of the loamy land was timbered with hard wood, such as maple, beech, and elm, Conger discovered that the greater part was covered either with thin and rocky soils or with bad tamarack swamps.

The township took its name from the Dutch Elzevir family, renowned in the printing business after 1580. The word "Elzevir" was said to mean elm or firewood.

Although lands were first offered for sale in 1821, there were very few takers. As late as 1851, a survey showed that there were almost no settlers in the township. Then, thanks to the Hastings Colonization Road, attention focused more on this northern region.

Among those looking northward was Billa Flint of Belleville. A leading merchant, he considered expanding into the Tweed area, but found that site controlled by the Jamison family. Accordingly, Flint was attracted to Elzevir, especially to a site on the Scootamatta River where foaming rapids rushed through a narrow gorge. In his imagination he visualized a thriving industrial village; the area's timber would be the basis for Flint's northern empire. Flint purchased a large tract of land and erected a saw mill in 1853. The village that grew up was called Troy, then later Bridgewater or Actinolite. From this village, Flint spread out his lumbering operations, erecting saw mills, a flour mill, and a machine shop at Flinton in Lennox and Addington County.

Among the early settlers in Elzevir were some of French-Canadian descent, who came seeking land grants or employment in lumber camps. These were the Duquette, Fobert, Genereaux, Latendre, and Courneyea families. The Murphy, Nolan, Kelly, and Kehoe families came from Ireland. From England and Scotland, sometimes of Loyalist stock, were the Hailstone, Harrison, Hicks, Jackson, McCallum, McDonald, Maxwell, Miles, Moore, Ross, Thompson, Watson, and Wiggins families.

On September 18, 1857, 112 inhabitants petitioned county council to establish Elzevir as a separate township. Accordingly, on January 1,

1858, Elzevir separated from Madoc, with which township it had been united since the 1820's. On January 4, 1858, the citizens held their first election, electing Billa Flint as reeve. Flint received 57 votes, compared to 51 for Robert Nelson and 49 for Daniel Thompson. Nelson was an overseer or foreman in Flint's empire, while Thompson was the founder of Queensborough, the only other community of any size in Elzevir Township. Thompson also had played a leading role in the campaign to gain the township's separation.

Billa Flint served 21 years as reeve of Elzevir. His first session at county council must have been an exciting one, since on the opening day of the January 1858 session, Madoc Reeve John R. Ketcheson introduced a motion to cancel the by-law setting up Elzevir Township. Ketcheson was convinced that misrepresentation had been used. What happened to this motion is uncertain. The official minutes of county council contain no record of this by-law; but the resolution itself, marked "approved" is still on file. In any case, Billa Flint continued to represent Elzevir in county council, and the township council continued to operate.

One of the township council's first tasks was to pass a by-law restricting taverns and the sale of spirituous liquors. Another by-law declared that to obtain a conviction on a charge of drunkenness, all that was needed was for one man to lay the charge and a second to witness. These regulations were the work of Billa Flint, a leading temperance champion. For 36 years he kept the sale of liquor out. Then business reverses forced him to sell, and, according to Flint, there sprang up "a house licensed to make drunkards".

The village of Troy became the village of Bridgewater, following a meeting of the inhabitants in the school room on July 13, 1858. The same month, surveyor John Emerson laid out a town plot with several main streets.

By 1864, Bridgewater contained over 300 inhabitants. In addition to several industries owned by Billa Flint, including the county's largest flouring mill with five run of stone, other businesses had been established. William Garrett was manufacturing ploughs and stoves at the Bridgewater Foundry. Francis Empey operated the Bridgewater Tannery, and J. W. Robinson's Scythe and Edge Tool Factory was winning prizes at the provincial exhibitions.

The apparent prosperity of Bridgewater was evident in its buildings. In 1861, a school house was erected; two sides were white marble, and two sides (those not readily seen from the road) were of field stone. On June 21, 1864, Billa Flint assisted Miss Eliza Jane Holton to lay the cornerstone of the marble church (Methodist). Flint donated a thousand dollars, almost half of the total cost of construction. Seating about 500, the church had a fine bell, a gallery, and a tower rising to a height of 101 feet. The white marble was quarried within the churchyard, and it

is supposed that this is the only church of its kind in Canada. Thomas Cullen was the first resident minister.

Bridgewater continued to grow faster than Queensborough, although the latter may have been settled earlier. Perhaps about 1845, settlers from Hazzard's Corners north of Madoc had arrived at Queensborough. Among them was Daniel Thompson, the first post-master of the area and owner, in 1849, of the water-power mill now owned by John Thompson.

Bridgewater as it appeared about 1870 to artist J. Perrigo.

The gold rush in north Hastings, commencing in 1866, brought prospectors into the township. At Bridgewater, gold was found in several localities. Billa Flint had the Temperance Hotel enlarged and fitted up with every convenience, so that it was the county's largest hotel. Still, an observer in 1868 felt that the hotel would be too small for the community in the near future. Flint also erected a quartz mill, but there was too little gold to make it pay.

The people remained optimistic. By the late 1860's, Bridgewater had grown to about 500 persons. V. J. Warren of Belleville moved his hammer factory to Bridgewater, and Frost's cabinet factory and Bragg's tannery were both very successful. The village was now the terminus of the stage line from Belleville, and a road linked the community with Queensborough. Building was continuing at a good pace.

Bridgewater's founder, Billa Flint, remained prominent in county affairs. In addition to serving as reeve of Elzevir for many years, he was mayor of Belleville in 1866, and was appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1866. In 1873 he served as county warden. His holdings throughout the county were large; the assessment rolls indicate that he held eighty lots in Elzevir Township in 1879. Then the retreating forests

The village of Actinolite in the early 1900's.

forced him to look further north. His interests in Faraday Township led to the creation of Bancroft.

By 1883, Joseph James purchased much of Flint's property. James developed several open pit mines to produce actinolite, a rather soft ore which was crushed and then used as fireproof insulation, or mixed with coal tar to form a roofing compound. The James Brothers established the Actinolite Roofing Works, and actinolite was mined intermittently from about 1883 to 1927. Because of the importance of this ore, Bridgewater was renamed Actinolite about 1895.

The village suffered severe setbacks in the late nineteenth century. The Canadian Pacific Railway line passed through Tweed, rather than Bridgewater. A disastrous fire on May 24, 1889, when most inhabitants were attending Victoria Day celebrations at Madoc, destroyed twenty homes, nine small plants, three stores, and other buildings including the church. The church was rebuilt, but without the spire or gallery. The flour, saw, and woollen mills were also rebuilt, but the village never recovered. The declining timber resources offered less employment. Then, on June 14, 1894, Billa Flint died, marking the end of an era for Bridgewater and Elzevir Township.

In the twentieth century, improved highways, the presence of two art schools, and the expansion of the tourist industry have assisted Elzevir. The present population is about 650, compared to a peak of over 1,000 in the 1880's. Actinolite and Queensborough are pleasant rural communities, though without the industrial stature envisaged by their founders, Billa Flint and Daniel Thompson.

For most of its history, Elzevir Township has been associated with Grimsthorpe Township. The latter was first surveyed in the spring of 1823; however, surveyor Samuel Ryckman was only able to survey two concessions before numerous swamps forced him to call a halt. Horses were

useless because of the many streams, and assistants could not be found to venture into much of the township. Traders and Indians told Ryckman that the whole area was "a complication of swamps and mountains". Accordingly, the survey was delayed until April, 1867, when William Murdoch undertook the task. Again swamps hindered operations. Flooding, resulting from Job Lingham's dam, spread water eight to twelve feet deep over much of the area, and the surveyors travelled by canoe. By June 14, the flies became so troublesome that the men refused to work. Only in August could the survey be completed. Murdoch concluded that, because of the granite ridges, 300 foot mountains, and swamps, there was very little of the township fit for settlement. Nevertheless, he noted that liquor made from local hemlock was finding a market in England in 1867.

Coffer dam and remains of old Rathbun Company dam at Lingham Lake in Grimsthorpe Township, 1960. In the early 1960's the Moira River Conservation Authority erected a dam at Lingham Lake to help regulate the flow of water on the Black River, an important tributary of the Moira River.

About 1909, perhaps the last new gold mine in the county, the Gilmour Mine, was opened and worked for a short period. Outside of very limited mining and lumbering operations, Grimsthorpe has not enjoyed prosperity. There have been many years when the township has been listed as having no permanent inhabitants.

It has been supposed that Grimsthorpe Township derived its name because of its geographical handicaps. Actually, it was named after Grimsthorpe castle in Lincolnshire, England. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant-Governor who named the township about 1822, was related to the owner of Grimsthorpe castle.

Tudor and Cashel Townships

"Like most of the back townships, Tudor is rich in mineral wealth . . . The great obstacle in the way of developing these mines is the difficulty of transportation."

(County of Hastings Directory, 1864-65)

Tudor takes its name from the proud line of monarchs who ruled England in the sixteenth century, including Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Although named in the 1820's, Tudor was little settled before the 1850's. Agricultural expert William Hutton estimated the township population at seventy in 1851, but other authorities set the figure at only seven or eight families as late as 1854. The construction of the Hastings Colonization Road (now called the Old Hastings Road) after 1854 was a real boon, since this northern route began at Tudor's southern boundary and cut through the western part to Thanet on the north-west corner.

The township was quickly surveyed. Publius V. Elmore, who surveyed the route for the Hastings Road, was followed by W. H. Deane in 1857. Deane described the land as "rather of an inferior quality being rough, broken and undulating in character, the ridges generally rocky and unproductive, and the valleys of a deep alluvial soil." The timber resources were good, red and white pine being "very abundant, of large size, and good quality, and easy of access". The surveyor reported that the lands along the Hastings Road were settling rapidly. So rapid was this settlement that, by 1861, there were about 300 resident landholders and a total population of 848. Most of them lived along the Hastings Road or a second settlement road branching east to the seventh concession. All the free grant lands were taken up before 1861, when it was reported that 207 new lots were open for sale. Eighty of these offered lots were already occupied by squatters who had settled before the survey.

The increased population led to Tudor's separation in 1859 from Madoc and Elzevir townships. Andrew Jelly served as the first reeve. In 1863, Tudor was united with Limerick and Wollaston, its neighbours to the north and north-west. Cashel was added in 1869. By 1886, Limerick and Wollaston had gone their separate ways, and only Tudor and Cashel were left united.

Lumbering was a key industry. While surveying a section of the township in 1863, H. A. Macleod found that the Gilmour Lumbering Company of Trenton had three extensive shanties in operation. There was little thought of forest conservation. "The best of the timber," Macleod wrote, "is nearly exhausted, there is still a good deal of inferior quality, and a large amount lies on the ground wasted on account of small blemishes." Lumber operations were somewhat restricted about 1880, when a series of disastrous forest fires burned over almost 15,000 acres of timber. Nevertheless the Gilmour and Rathbun lumber companies operated in the district until the early 1900's. The Gilmour Company drove its logs down the Moira to Belleville and then to its Trenton mill. The Rathbun Company's logs went down the Black Creek or were carried by the Bay of Quinte Railway to Deseronto. When the Gilmour Company ceased operations in the early 1900's, Gill and Fortune of Trenton took over its timber limits, part of which is owned now by the Sawyer-Stoll Company. In 1904, the late George Sprackett started lumber operations in the Gilmour area; this busines is now operated by James Sprackett and his two sons—Ross and Don.

Prospecting and mining came to Tudor in the early 1860's. By 1864, some of the township's lead mines had been worked by Mr. Kersteman and others. Iron ore and copper were known to be present in significant amounts. After 1866, the Hastings Gold Rush fever touched the township, but little gold was discovered. Perhaps the most important township mine was the Holandia Lead Mine (Concession VI), from which 2,500,000 pounds of lead were taken.

Most inhabitants in the 1860's were yeomen farmers. The average farmer in the mid-sixties cultivated about 13 acres of land, used farm machinery valued at less than $20, and had a farm whose total value was about $340. On this farm, he grew 120 bushels of potatoes, 60 bushels of oats, 7 bushels of peas, 2 bushels of barley, and 1 bushel each of rye and corn. His livestock consisted of 2 pigs, 2 cows, an ox, a half of a sheep, and a quarter of a horse.

Although the early settlers had erected two schools by 1860, there were no churches for another ten years. Services were held in the schoolhouses or in private homes. The Roman Catholics held services at Martin Murphy's house at Murphy's Corners as early as 1850, and later at Hogan's Hotel at Hogan's Post Office. The first township church was a Methodist one, built in 1871.

Millbridge, originally called "The Jordan" because of its position on Jordan Creek, was the chief community. It was first settled by hardy pioneers like Captain Ralph Norman. A veteran of the Crimean War (1854-56), Norman established an early trading post. Dressed in his military uniform, Norman ran his trading station in military style. He was helped by his wife, herself a veteran of the Crimea, since she had been a nurse under Florence Nightingale. Norman built a mill at The Jordan, and this mill became known as "the mill by the bridge". The community then was known as Mill Bridge and finally as Millbridge. Among the other early settlers were the McEwens, Wards, Morans, and Clarks.
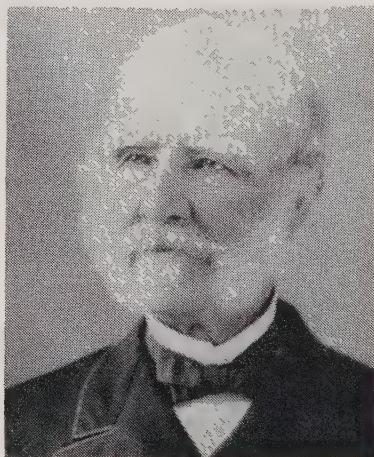
Captain Ralph M. Norman, veteran of the Crimean War, 1854-56, and a pioneer settler at Millbridge in Tudor Township.

By 1859, The Jordan (Millbridge) was the site of Tudor's first school. After a forest fire destroyed the school and a second building also burned, classes were held in the town hall, until the present school was erected around 1907. The community's post office opened in 1860 with merchant John Bull as first post-master. About 1866, the post office moved to Norman's trading post, where it remained until 1911. In 1894, Mrs. Norman died, and her husband helped to erect the Anglican Church in her memory.

Millbridge was the centre of the township's activities in the 1880's. There was an annual fair, known throughout the county. The men competed in log-cutting, horse "drawing" contests, and grain and livestock exhibits. The women displayed their weaving, spinning, quilting, knitting, and baking. The first prize for a five gallon crock of butter was 75 cents. Horse racing was a popular fair attraction. At other times, two or three hotels offered relaxation. Potter's Hotel was nick-named Cupid's Hotel; all the girls hired to work at the hotel were quickly snapped up by the young swains.

Seven miles north of The Jordan on the old Hastings Road was Jelly's Rapids, a community named after Andrew Jelly, a pioneer settler and an early reeve. A school was built in 1860. The Lavender, Breen,

Gilmour as it appeared in 1909.

and Lummiss families were among the early arrivals. Jelly's Rapids later was renamed Glanmire.

The building of the Central Ontario Railway from Trenton to Coe Hill in the early 1880's encouraged two settlements—Hogan and Gilmour. Gilmour, the more important, became the township's chief northern community. Before that time, the northern centre had been Thwaites Place, where William J. Thwaites had erected a hotel about three miles west of Gilmour.

Gilmour took its name from the Gilmour Lumber Company of Trenton. Its early settlers included Philip Dafoe, Holmes Lidster, and Thomas Ricketts. The settlers erected a frame school-house in 1891, on land purchased from the Crown for five dollars; the teacher's salary in the first year was $240. From 1905 to 1910, the North American Telegraph Company operated its district telephone exchange in W. A. McMurray's store. Then the exchange became part of the Bell system, and the first Gilmour directory was published in 1911.

W. A. McMurray was a typical merchant at the turn of the century. His general store was stocked with many different products. He bought

McMurray's General Store at Gilmour, circa 1909. W. A. McMurray is shown at the right.

and sold logs, handled furs, sold Chevrolets, acted as a justice of the peace, and issued burial certificates. In addition he served as a land surveyor and obtained deeds for settlers. For a short time he served as township reeve, although not for nearly as long as James H. Sprackett, who was reeve for 29 years and councillor for an additional 16 years. In 1949-50, a new area school was built at Gilmour.

Mining revived about 1900. The Craig Mine in south-east Tudor opened in 1898, and operated for a few years; some gold was taken out. The St. Charles Iron Mine produced about 3,000 tons of iron in the early 1900's.

The trials and tribulations faced by the settlers of Cashel were identical with those of Tudor, though Cashel's more northern location and greater distance from the Hastings Road led to settlement at a later date. Transportation also was a problem because of the high elevation. Near Cashel Lake, the land rose to over 1450 feet, probably the highest point in the county. Perhaps because of its height, Cashel received its name. Its namesake, Cashel in Tipperary County, Ireland, boasts the Rock of Cashel, a formation in the centre of the town rising 300 feet.

The problems of settlement were pointed out by surveyor Henry A. Macleod, who in 1860, took eleven days to reach the township from Belleville. He described the Old Madawaska Road, a lumbering road, as "full of fallen timber and brushwood" beyond Gunter, a growing settlement in the southwest corner of Cashel. Macleod discovered that the soil was generally shallow, although it was very good in some places. Only in the central western lands was there much field for lumbering, and a firm by the name of Hilliard and Dixon was even then taking out the best timber. Elsewhere, the pine was too scattered, and the hemlock and spruce in the north-east were said to be "almost entirely dead". While Macleod was conducting the survey, several settlers arrived; some he employed as survey assistants. He found that the citizens were proud of their township and boasted of its rich soil, variety of crops, valuable furs, and fish. Cashel was well-watered, since here were the origins of the Moira River and Beaver Creek as well as parts of the Madawaska and Mississippi rivers. Macleod made one suggestion: "A cheap portable grist and saw mill would be a great boon and might be put up at a small expense, say on the outlet between Gunter's and Little Salmon Lake."

As noted in 1860 by Macleod, Gunter's was the chief settlement. It was named after four Gunter brothers who arrived from Murray Township: Abraham, Ephriam, John Harvey, and Hiram. Other settlers included the Trumbles, Kemps, Weeses, and Kellys. About 1875, James Cunningham operated the first water-powered mill. A small school with log seats and no desks was erected by 1865. When a larger school-house was built ten years later, the first one was used as a wood shed. Still later a frame school served the students, until the decision to take them to Gilmour after 1951.

John Harvey Gunter, one of the pioneer brothers, was the first post master (1883-1901). Every morning he went to Gilmour to meet the seven a.m. mail train. To awaken himself, Gunter is said to have put a rooster in the kitchen at night. A nephew, Abram Gunter, was responsible for the Free Methodist Church being erected in 1894.

Among the patrons of the Gunter Cheese Factory in 1899 were (1) John Harvey Gunter, (2) George Sprackett, and (3) Watt Grant. Abe Derry (4) was the cheesemaker at this factory for many years.

Weslemkoon, formerly called McCrea Post Office after Scottish settler Henry McCrea, is partly in Cashel and partly in Effingham and Ashby townships, but the only road access is through Tudor and Cashel. (The name Weslemkoon means "Running Bank Beaver".) William Woodcock was the first settler.

Lumbering and mining have been of limited importance. Among the lumbermen have been the Murphys of Lakefield and the Cooney Brothers of Gunter. Kersteman's Lead Mine was the chief mining development, although copper, pyrite, talc, and other minerals have been found. The township, as a whole, has not been extensively prospected.

Agriculture and timber have been the main occupations during the present century. Unfortunately, soil exhaustion and erosion, coupled with increased agricultural competition, have caused some people to move away. To-day the population for Tudor and Cashel is about 500, although summer cottage settlements at Glanmire and other lakes swell the population during the tourist season.

Chapter 58

Wollaston Township

> *"The best method of developing the Township would be by opening the Road surveyed by Mr. Gibson last fall, running the whole length of the Township, and by making a road along the line between the 8th and 9th Concessions . . ."*
>
> (John Allen Snow, 1864)

The township of Wollaston was named after William Hyde Wollaston (1766-1828), an English chemist and scientist. Dr. Wollaston's wide range of scientific experiments included the discovery of the element palladium and a method of making platinum malleable. Wollastonite, a mineral compound of calcium, silicon, and oxygen, also was named in his honour.

The township was attached to Hastings County in 1858. Originally united with Tudor, Cashel, and Limerick, Wollaston became a separate municipality in 1880; James MacGregor was the first reeve.

As early as 1859, Quintin Johnston surveyed the township's six eastern lots. These lands were adjacent to the Hastings Road, and the provincial government expected them to fill rapidly. Johnston found that there were many swamps and marshes, caused by beaver dams blocking the courses of the streams. Nevertheless, if properly drained, much of the land would be good for pasturing. Johnston also noted that "Iron ore abounds all through the Townships."

The presence of large deposits of iron ore attracted the attention of John Allen Snow, who completed the township's survey in 1863-64. Snow's progress was retarded by unreliable compass readings. The iron deposits threw the party's compasses off, and Snow complained that the compass variation was "more conspicuous" than in any of his other surveys. The problem was especially critical near Eagle Lake and in Lot 19 of Concession XIII where there was an "isolated hill of magnetic ore".

Surveyor Snow observed that timber was an important resource. He described the township as "the largest tract of hardwood land together" that he had ever surveyed. Unfortunately, there were only two small pine tracts, totalling perhaps two thousand acres, and most of the better pine timber had been cut before 1864 by the Gilmour Company. Snow believed that a saw mill should be located in the township. He concluded that the best method of opening the township would be to construct a north-south road and also to run a road along the ninth concession, westward from the Hastings Road. The modern road map suggests that Snow's proposals were later adopted by the government.

By 1864, 44 landholders had located in Wollaston, mostly along the Hastings Road. Prominent among the settlers were the Conlin, Foster, Mc-Coy, Nugent, Patinson, Robinson, and Murphy families. The Murphys— James and Patrick, gave their name to Murphy's Corners, a small community in the extreme south-east corner of the township. About a mile north of Murphy's Corners, Thanet developed as a gateway to the township. Thanet was a convenient stopping-place in the late nineteenth century, since it was about a day's journey from Madoc Village.

The Ridge was another early community in southern Wollaston. It was first settled by Henry Bird and John Stanley, two pioneers who earlier, in 1864, had shared Lot 1, Concession I. They were attracted by the good farming land at the Ridge. Later, the Gilmour Company planned to make the whole ridge into a company farm, but this project was abandoned. By 1875, several settlers had located on The Ridge, and a school probably had been built.

In pioneer days the settler harvested his crops using only the simplest of implements. Here he "cradles" his grain. The grain cradle, an improvement over the scythe, was common before the invention of the mechanical reaper or harvester. In the distance is the pioneer's log cabin, surrounded by the tall forest. Frequently the settlers worked part-time at lumbering. (Painting by Rev. Bowen Squire).

The Ridge's first church was built by the Presbyterians. Plans were drawn up at a meeting in September, 1875, and the minutes show pioneer spirit at its best. The land for the building was given by James Mac-Gregor. Each person present agreed to supply three pieces of timber, not less than sixteen inches at the top end, for the log building. Lumber was ordered from Morton's mill at St. Ola. Despite a very severe winter— sixteen inches of snow fell on March 28, 1876—the logs were delivered to the site, and a "bee" raised the framework on April 26. This building (United after 1925) served the community until 1944.

Farther north in Wollaston, the lands near Eagle (Wollaston) Lake attracted settlers before 1880. The first settlers located west of the present village of Coe Hill. Thomas Nugent, who kept the first post office and ran a mail stage to Thanet, was one of these. Alexander Watt, the first

The annual Wollaston Fair is one of the best in the county. Cattle and potatoes are among the exhibits.

township tax collector, operated a loom and produced flannel. Seth and Mose Welch opened the first store in 1882. For some time, the settlement west of Coe Hill was known as Welch's Corners; now it is called Salem. As early as 1879, Welch's Corners had its own physician, Dr. Hardinge. Besides practising medicine, he built the community's first telephone exchange, making the switchboard from an old sewing machine stand. Salem was the site of the first Wollaston Fair, 1883.

As settlement moved west along Concession VIII from the Hastings Road, the settlers began to meet settlers coming in from Chandos Township in Peterborough County. The Doxsees were among the first of these.

It is probable that Coe Hill was named after William Coe, a prospector who, by 1882, formed a company to work the iron ore deposits in the hill east of Salem. To transport the ore, the Central Ontario Railway extended its line to Coe Hill. Unfortunately, the ore contained an excessive amount of sulphur, and world iron prices dropped; the mine operated only for about two years. Nevertheless, the coming of the railway continued to mean a great deal to the early settlers. For many years, trainloads of forest products were shipped south from Coe Hill.

About 1890, the first cheese factory was built on the shore of Eagle Lake. This factory served the settlers of Coe Hill and The Ridge. Milk was brought from The Ridge by wagon to the lake. Then, George Pattison took it across the lake in a large flat-bottomed boat. This boat also transported district residents to the islands for picnics. The factory was moved to Coe Hill in 1906. The village's first merchant was R. S. Tivy, and Robert Waddington was the first postmaster.

Lumbering has been an important industry. The first timber licences were granted in 1860 to Harris, Bronson, and Coleman. The Gilmour and Rathbun companies floated logs to their Trenton and Deseronto mills. S. L. Purdy had a mill at Murphy's Corners, and later the Murphys operated a mill there. Purdy's mill was moved to Glen Alda (Purdyville) in neighbouring Chandos Township, but Coe Hill was the shipping point for this and other district mills. The lumber was drawn on swamp roads during the winter months. The swamp roads did not drift with snow as did roads in the open country. This swamp road system lasted until trucks and snowplows made the winter trucking of logs and timber practical. Later, mills were operated by the Scriptures at Scriptures' Corners (now called Gilroy). John Mackenzie carried on an active trade in cedar poles around Coe Hill. The hill west of the village is still called the "pole dump".

Another prominent businessman at Coe Hill was Charles S. Rollins, who operated a general store and carried on a business in lumber, pulpwood, and poles. Like his son, Clarke T. Rollins, C. S. Rollins served as county warden.

The children of Coe Hill first attended school in the Salem settlement. Then, about 1875, a school was built at Coe Hill. A new school, opened on October 26, 1949, is the centre of elementary education for the township. Coe Hill is also the seat of municipal government. Hydro reached the village in 1948.

The most northerly part of Wollaston was settled about 1880. Settlers came in via the Paige Road, a shanty road running west from the Hastings Road, near the township's northern boundary. Early settlers were the Gilroys and Blackburns. The first school was erected at Faraday.

In the early days of settlement, it seemed as if the forests would last forever. However, Harry Johnson, who helped open up the Coe Hill Mine, foresaw the day when the forests would be gone. He pioneered the reforestation of land in Wollaston. Several fine stands of young timber are now to be found.

To-day, Wollaston has a permanent population of about 600. This number increases in the summer when vacationers arrive, attracted by the beauty of the lake and aided by improved road transportation. A pamphlet published in 1923 suggested that, even then, summer campers were discovering the "rare beauty" of Eagle Lake and other township resort areas.

Chapter 59

Limerick Township

> *"Deer are also very numerous, and are a great assistance to the settlers. There is also a good deal of trapping on the Lakes and Rivers. I have heard of trappers making $300 in one season by their furs."*
>
> *(H. A. Macleod, 1863)*

Limerick Township, which was named after the city and county of Limerick in Ireland, is one of the most mountainous and heavily timbered townships in Hastings County. It is located at a height of land, with waters flowing southward into the Trent River and northward into the Madawaska. Although the farming area is restricted, yet its people, by industry and skill, have earned a living from the soil and forest.

The difficulties of settlement were described as early as 1857, when Quintin Johnston surveyed the land near Salmon (Limerick) Lake, described by him as a "beautiful lake of pure cold water". The Indians were said to catch many salmon trout in its waters. Johnston described the land south of Salmon Lake as being less broken and stony than the other nearby lands. Concerning the second concession, he wrote: "The Swamps and Marshes are the best of the land — the greater number of which will admit of drainage." Johnston also wrote that there were good marble deposits east of Salmon Lake and that iron ore was to be found throughout the whole township. As early as 1854, Peter Chard and Company of Belleville had taken options on land in the township, hoping to develop lead and copper ores, but mining has played a very small role in the township's history to date.

A second surveyor, H. A. Macleod, completed in 1862-63 the work begun by Johnston. Macleod did not survey the north-eastern corner, since he found that area to contain several lakes; the adjacent lands, he stressed, were "very inferior and unfit for settlement." He estimated that only one-fifth of the township's lands would be good for agriculture. Like Johnston, he believed that many of the best lands were beaver marshes or swamps and would have to be drained. In 1862-63, Macleod found only 12 families living in the township. They cultivated 62 acres, and their potatoes were said to be "remarkably fine". The settlers also grew some wheat, maize, pumpkins, and turnips. Salmon trout and fresh meat completed the pioneer's diet. Most of the settlers lived along the Hastings Road, although in 1863 a few had begun to move into the south-east corner, coming in via Millbridge in Tudor Township from Sidney, Rawdon, and other southern townships.

The free grants along the Hastings Road were all occupied by 1864, although one authority claimed that they were "generally of inferior qual-

ity as compared with those further north". About 22 settlers had taken up lands along the road, while another 19 held lots in the first and second concessions, mostly east of Steenburg. A few families including the Murphys and Nugents settled at Murphy's Corners on the Wollaston boundary. About a mile north, Thanet grew up, and a Presbyterian Church was erected.

The lumbermen reached the township from two directions. By 1862, lumbermen from the Ottawa Valley had taken out the best timber from the Egan Lake area in the north-east corner. Near Salmon Lake, much good pine was left, and the Gilmour Company began operations there about 1863. Earlier, the Gilmour Company had erected a large dam at the outlet of Gull Lake, raising by six feet the water-level in Gull Lake, so that there was enough water "for the flushing of logs on Beaver Creek". This creek emptied into Crowe River, and the logs then found their way to the Gilmour Company's mill at Trenton. After the Rathbun Company began lumbering in Limerick, the logs of these two companies, along with those of the smaller operators, quite often swept down Beaver Creek together. At Marmora there was a sorting "Jak", and at Trenton the final sorting took place. The star-shaped mark on the end of each Rathbun log was separated from the "Diamond G" stamp of Gilmour. From Trenton, the Rathbun logs were boomed again and floated to Deseronto. The last drive down the length of the waterway was conducted about 1917 by a Trenton firm. A school holiday was held in the spring of 1920 when district children were brought to see the last drive to be sent over the Gull Lake Dam into Beaver Creek.

Lumbering has been the life-line of many settlers throughout Limerick's history. During the winter months, the settler could earn fifteen dollars a month and his room and board. Conditions might be crowded — from fifteen to fifty men would sleep in one room on plank beds with marsh hay mattresses — but the pay was good. The staple diet was salt pork, baked beans, sour-dough bread and biscuits, corn syrup, and logging berries (prunes).

The early pioneer faced many trials and tribulations. Illness was one of them. Doctors were so far away and travel was so slow that, in most cases, the patient had either improved or had died before the doctor arrived. Women such as Mrs. Robert Jackson, Mrs. Arthur Swayne, and Abigail King spent many dedicated hours at the bed-side of those in need of medical care. The mid-wife assisted with pioneer births. Mrs. Murphy always wore a flowing black cape; this, she told questioning children, was to protect the young one she brought with her on her visit. Death meant community sorrow and help. The mid-wife would lay the deceased out, probably on the kitchen table. A wake would be held, and the burial often took place on the homestead.

Marriage was a time for community celebration. The ceremony would be performed in the front parlour. This was a dark room with

imported rug, drawn drapes, and a large polished black box stove, which was never lit unless the householder knew of the coming of special company. If no minister resided in the community, the wedding party would have to journey to Madoc or another large village. The story is told of one wedding in mid-January, when a teetotalling church elder was to marry a young girl. Despite bear-skin rugs and marsh-hay sleigh bedding, the wedding party grew colder and colder on the trip to Madoc, until the bride's father gave the girl something to warm her up. When the party reached Madoc, the bride, though not too cold, was more than slightly tipsy. The wedding was postponed for another day.

For many years after Limerick was attached to Hastings County (1858), the township was united with Tudor, Wollaston, and Cashel. After 1886, Limerick became a separate municipality. Township council's inaugural meeting was held at St. Ola on January 17, 1887. Peter P. Clark of St. Ola was the reeve, receiving an annual salary of eleven dollars; while James Ham was engaged as clerk at an annual "salery" of fifty dollars a year, according to the township minutes. Although St. Ola became the site of township government, some meetings were held at Ormsby (originally called Rathbun). Like most township councils, Limerick's was involved with roads, bridges, and welfare. In 1890, council asked Tudor Council to pay a share of the costs of repairing Beaver Creek Bridge, which had been damaged during a river drive. The pathmaster of the road between Bass Lake and the Hastings Road was given permission in 1892 to straighten the road at his own expense. Statute labour was used for the last time in 1917 to repair the roads; thereafter, men were paid to do the job. To-day, Limerick has about forty miles of well maintained roads. The stumps and rocks are gone, but very often the road superintendent is faced with the spring-time job of removing a log which has been frost-driven to the surface from the old corduroy road-bed.

Rathbun (Ormsby) developed as Limerick's most northerly settlement on the Hastings Road. James Roy, John Bane, and the Weaver family operated early stores. There was a blacksmith shop, an Orange hall, and a Sons of England hall, all erected before 1900. The Central Ontario Railway reached Rathbun in 1884, and a stage coach ran daily from the Stanlick Hotel to York River. Both the Stanlick Hotel and a later hotel were destroyed by fire, the latter with a loss of two lives. Before 1890, Rathbun was renamed Ormsby, possibly in memory of a well-liked teacher. By 1900, there was an Anglican Church in Ormsby, and, in 1897, the settlers erected a Catholic Mission Church which is still in use. The present MacKillican family is only two generations away from settler Ben Mac-Killican, who in 1872 whip-sawed the lumber for Ormsby's first school.

Steenburg was named after Sidney S. Steenburg, who held four lots in the first concession in the 1880's. He operated the general store and later the post office. Another community was Ham's Corners, named after James Ham, who, with only nine days formal education became the town-

The hominy-block or plumping-mill was a common means of milling flour at home. A hardwood stump, often ironwood, was hollowed out, and a pestle or pounder of hardwood was used to crush the grain. A great deal of labour was necessary to obtain even a coarse brown flour, although it was comparatively easy to mill Indian corn or wild rice. This view, taken from a painting by Rev. Bowen Squire, shows the hominy-block in use about 1785.

ship clerk, treasurer, and tax collector. Ham could write legibly with both hands at the same time. For some years, Ham's Corners seemed likely to be the township's main hub, and early schooling centred there.

St. Ola owed its beginnings to the lumber business. Canniff's Mill sprang up in the 1860's, Timothy Solmes soon opened a grist mill in Canniff's building, and frame houses were erected. Peter Perry Clark settled at the site in 1869. Reminded of the hills of Scotland, Clark named the place St. Ola, after a Scottish church. Clark built a large wooden dam and a combined saw, grist, shingle, and lath mill, and operated a chair factory, a general store, and the post office. Before he was twenty years old, Clark was elected to municipal office; for forty years he served the township and county in some official capacity, finally being elected warden in 1896. The earliest reference to a church at St. Ola was in 1885, when mention was made of a Limerick Methodist Mission with Reverend William Combs stationed at St. Ola. A parsonage was begun in 1886, and the church was dedicated in the spring of 1890.

In the present century, Limerick Township has been affected by the movement of many of its young people to towns and cities. The cheese factories have closed, and little wheat is grown. Beef cattle, butter, fresh eggs, and garden produce are the main agricultural products. Lumbering remains a significant industry. Home industry has declined and hand weaving looms have become heirlooms. The township's 220 residents enjoy closer ties with the rest of the county, thanks to the building of Highway 62 in the 1930's and the coming of hydro-electricity in 1950. In 1964, Limerick Central School at Ormsby became the first electrically heated school in north Hastings. The key to future development may be Limerick Township's "wonderful maze of sparkling lakes" and a growing tourist industry.

Chapter 60

Faraday Township

*"As a general thing the Surface is anything but Smooth
. . . The Soil is Sandy loam, with a fair sprinkling
of Stones, if not rocks, in the best of it."*

(Quintin Johnston, 1857)

Faraday is one of the three northern townships named after distinguished British scientists; Herschel and Wollaston are the others. Professor Michael Faraday was a noted chemist and scientist of the nineteenth century.
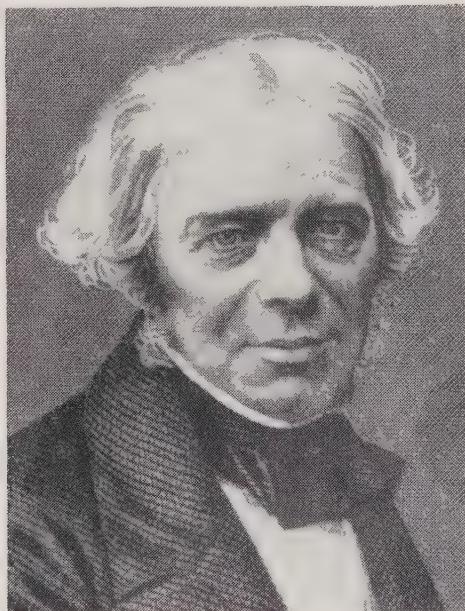
Michael Faraday (1791-1867) the distinguished British scientist and chemist after whom the township was named. Professor Faraday developed the first dynamo and discovered electromagnetic induction, making possible a vast development of electrical machinery for industry.

The surveying of the Hastings Road along the eastern boundary of Faraday Township in the 1850's showed the problems of introducing settlement and agriculture to the area. L'Amable Lake and a steep bluff nearby forced the surveyor, Publius V. Elmore, to veer east. This was the first large deviation in the Hastings Road. Further north, the Eagle's Nest at Bancroft caused another shift. Later, the route would be changed several times, as an easier path was sought. So many changes were made that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Hastings Road hardly followed the original Faraday route anywhere.

Early settlers along the Hastings Road included Alfred Barker, James Cleak, Michael Gaffney, Philip Harding, Patrick Kelly, John and Ronald Kennedy, the Moores, the O'Neils, and the Vances.

In 1857, Quintin Johnston surveyed much of the land west of the Hastings Road. He found the southern sections to be largely unsuited for agriculture and noted that Concessions X and XI were generally "Rough, Ridgy, Stony, Rocky and Swampy". A pocket of land in the north-east corner of Faraday, in the valley of the York River, was described as "Sandy but good". Johnston believed the best place for settlement was at the site of the present village of Bancroft. Minerals attracted his attention, especially marble near L'Amable Lake and iron ore throughout the whole township.

Following Johnson's survey, Faraday Township was attached to Hastings County in 1858. By 1864, there was said to be a "thriving settlement" along the Hastings Road, and grist and saw mills were in operation at Lamb's Lake. Lamb's Lake (called L'Amble Lake on an 1864 map) referred to L'Amable Lake, believed to have been named after an Indian family who trapped in the area.

Outside of Bancroft, L'Amable was the chief settlement in the township's early history. By 1897, L'Amable boasted a district population of about 125. John Green operated a hotel, William Hanthorne was the blacksmith, H. J. Jarman was a cabinet and coffin maker, and George Long was a carriage maker. John R. Tait was the postmaster and Crown land agent.

Another early settlement was Faraday, on the township's southern boundary. In 1889, there were 30 resident families, and the population was estimated at about 100 in 1897. Henry Johnston was an early miller.

To the west, a small settlement developed near Paudash Lake. This lake is believed to have been named after an Algonquin Indian chief, Paudash. The first settler in the area was an Englishman named Ward, who was followed by Robert Jackson and Samuel Vance. A school was opened about 1878, with Miss Ella Bruce of Hermon as the first teacher. Not all settlers were fortunate enough to be able to send their children to school. Mrs. James Vance remembered coming to the Paudash area about 1877. The nearest school was nine miles away, and the family of six girls and four boys was taught by the mother. The children wrote on wrapping paper, using charcoal for pencils.

The growth of the village of Bancroft led to the setting up of Faraday as a separate township. On January 19, 1891, township council held its first meeting. Chester Davy was the first reeve, and Alfred C. Barker, who had served as township clerk for the united townships of Dungannon and Faraday, continued in that capacity at a salary of thirty-eight dollars a year.

Much of the township's growth came after 1949, when the late Arthur H. Shore confirmed the presence of uranium. Shore formed a company, Faraday Uranium Mines Limited, to develop several claims he had staked.

The first full-scale development programme began in 1952, and on April 14, 1957, the first uranium precipitate was produced. The mill treated up to 1,600 tons a day, until declining markets brought the township's uranium mining boom to a temporary halt. Among the three other uranium mines was Canadian Dyno Mines, which, in 1956, erected about 200 homes at Cardiff, eight miles west of Bancroft. After the company closed in 1961, a few homes were sold to private owners with fixed incomes. Out of this grew the plan to develop Cardiff as a village for retired people. Homes were sold for about one-third of their cost, and the site was advertised as very healthy for the sufferers of such respiratory ailments as chronic bronchitis and asthma. To-day, Cardiff is administered by a board of three trustees under provincial legislation provided for the Improvement District of Bicroft.

Although the last of the township's uranium mines closed down in 1963, there are hopes that renewed demands for uranium will lead to their re-opening. Meanwhile the wage-earners among the township's thousand citizens depend for their livelihood on lumbering, farming, tourism, or employment in such centres as Bancroft.

The McCabe family was one of the pioneer families of the Bancroft area at the turn of the century.

Chapter 61

Bancroft .

*"The best Mill Site, and Site for a Town Plot that I
have seen in the four Townships, are on the York
River about half a mile . . . from the Hastings Road."*

(*Quintin Johnston, 1857*)

Bancroft is the chief village in north Hastings. It owes this promin-
ence to its excellent water power, the lumbering and mining of the neigh-
bouring section, and its position at the junction of the Hastings and Monck
colonization roads. Surveyor Quintin Johnston predicted the site's im-
portance when, in 1857, he called attention to the falls on the York River.
From this falls, he claimed, there could easily be obtained "water suffi-
cient to work almost any amount of machinery".

Earlier visitors to the site included Lieutenant Walpole, who mapped
a canoe route from Lake Simcoe through Baptiste Lake and the York
River in 1827, and the noted explorer and geographer David Thompson
about 1835.

By 1853, the village's first settlers, the Clark family, had arrived.
Then, following the surveying of the Hastings Road, James Cleak and
Alfred Barker took up free grants along the Hastings Road. Mr. Cleak
started a small store and in 1861 became the first postmaster of York
River, as the settlement was known. As postmaster, Cleak received $15 a
year. Mail came in from Glanmire, near Millbridge, once a week. Isaac
Stimers usually carried the mail by foot over the thirty miles, for which
he received $128 a year. When the office was transferred to J. C. George's
house in 1871, the postmaster's salary was raised to $17 a year. The
George House is believed to be the oldest surviving building in town.

York River continued to grow and soon rivalled L'Amable as the
township's main centre. Several of the early families were Irish immi-
grants, fleeing the potato famines of their homeland.

Among the first settlers within the borders of the present village
were Henry Gaebel, the Vances, the Siddons, the Sweets, Philip Harding,
Thomas Sparrow, and Patrick Kavanagh. Mostly farmers, these people
had to struggle for a livelihood. The soil was generally rocky, and mar-
kets were far away. Black flies, mosquitoes, bush flies, drought, wolves,
and foxes were some of their problems.

Fortunately, lumbering offered winter employment for many farm-
ers. The Bronson and Weston Company sent its lumbermen up the York
from the Madawaska, and local men were recruited. Large stands of vir-
gin timber were cut, and the company brought in hundreds of teams of

A log jam at the High Falls on the York River, circa 1900.

horses to draw the timber to the creeks. The Gilmour and Rathbun companies also moved into the area, and, as was the custom elsewhere, the gangs worked together on the spring drives. Bancroft was the centre for this lumber market, and the river drivers looked forward to their time there. Drinking and free-for-alls were the order of the day. The winner of a fight would use his spiked boots to rake the fallen man's face. To speed the passage of the logs through Bancroft, the companies offered the hotel managers a sum of money to close down while the drive went through; the offer was rejected. Most of the timber found its way to Arnprior and the Ottawa River. Many river drivers drowned, and the custom was to use their boots as grave markers. The Bancroft rapids claimed the life of John Bernard, a powerful Indian, who drowned when the log jam broke as he was preparing to loosen it.

About 1870, religion reached the Bancroft area. Both the Methodists and Presbyterians began to work in the district, and in 1872 the Methodist Church was opened for worship, although it was not fully completed until 1875. Knox Presbyterian Church was completed in 1889. In 1918, some seven years before the creation of the United Church of Canada, Knox Church and St. Paul's Methodist Church united, so that they might better serve the community. For many years, the Irish Roman Catholics in the area were ministered to by priests from Eganville. At least as early as 1863, Mass was celebrated near Bancroft. In 1865, Brudenell parish was formed, and its resident priest looked after North Hastings until 1881, when Maynooth parish was formed. Also around 1880, the Christian Brethren began their work in the Bancroft area. Richard Irving was the first full time evangelist to begin the Brethren's work. Meetings were held from house to house and then in rented rooms, until the former Presbyterian Church building was purchased about 1924. The Gospel Hall was erected in 1951. The Anglican ministry in the Bancroft district dates back at least to 1882 when Reverend Edwin Scammell conducted services in the town hall. In 1890, St. John's Anglican Church was consecrated.

Bancroft was known as York Mills, York Branch, or The Branch in its early years. The post office (opened 1861) was known as York River, which name was used for the settlement until the mid-seventies. Then, the influence of one man changed the name to Bancroft. The man was Senator Billa Flint, the leading businessman whose name is prominent throughout this county history. Flint built a planing mill and woollen mill and helped to develop York River. In 1878-79, he successfully applied to the Postmaster-General to change the name to Bancroft, after Flint's wife, the former Phoebe Bancroft. Many of the settlers protested the government's decision, but to no avail. On October 15, 1879, York River became Bancroft. Later, the citizens accepted the new name; and when Bancroft became a municipality, the Flints were honoured as Phoebe, Billa, and Flint streets were named after them.

A championship Bancroft hockey team in the early 1900's — Stewart Brown, Hubert Weiss, Frank Towle, Bert Roberts, George Wease, William Istead, Hyman Dobensky, G. Robertson.

The first resident physician was Dr. Truman I. Beeman. He arrived in 1888, two years after the death of Dr. Hunt, who used to travel through the district looking after the sick. Dr. Beeman was the ideal country doctor, always willing to help the sick. In 1922, during a severe storm, he was called to the Paudash district. Unfortunately, his horse and cutter became stranded, and he was forced to crawl for a great distance to the nearest farm to get help. As a result of his exertions, he contracted pneumonia and died. His funeral was the largest ever seen in Bancroft.

Bancroft emerged as an important village at the turn of the century. On December 16, 1894, the *Bancroft Times* made its debut. John Bremner was the first editor. Later he sold the paper to D. H. Morrison, but then started a rival paper, the *Bancroft Recorder* in 1900. The *Recorder* was

short-lived. The village's population grew, and Bancroft was officially in-corporated as a village in 1904. David H. Kelly defeated W. A. Davy by one vote, to become the first reeve. The council first met in the old community hall, a building donated by Senator Flint. In 1960 the present offices were erected.

January 20, 1927, was an important day. The Red Cross Hospital was officially opened, the first operating table being in memory of Dr. Beeman. In 1949, the present hospital was completed; it remains a source of pride for all the people of north Hastings.

With a population of 2,100, Bancroft is the largest municipality in the northern three-quarters of the county. It will maintain this lead because of its good position with respect to transportation, lumbering, and mining. The annual Gemboree is evidence of the enterprise and initiative of its citizens; this display attracts thousands of Rockhounds or mineral collectors. Since 1959, the Ontario Hydro's area office and service centre has been located here. The tourist industry is increasingly important, and such rapidly-expanding sports as golf, curling, winter fishing, and minor hockey benefit the community. Bancroft advances, but it retains a strong tie with the county's past. The Old Home Week of 1961 resulted in an excellent village history. The Bancroft Historical Society is a growing organization; and Billa Flint's old mill, now the Fuller Mill, is one of Canada's two water-powered custom woollen mills, the other being at Upper Canada Village.

The fall fair is an important event for each local area in Hastings County. These folk from Maynooth are seen arriving in Bancroft, about the year 1909. The team, owned and driven by W. Carswell, was to compete in the general purpose class — but first, a stop outside Ludbrook's Photo Studio for a picture.

Chapter 62

Dungannon Township

"Nearly the whole of the portion I surveyed has been burnt over so often that there is no timber of any value left."

(Matthew J. Butler, 1880)

In September, 1870, a little party of eleven Scottish emigrants loaded two wagons with their belongings and set out from Belleville to L'Amable in Dungannon Township. They were prepared to carve a home out of the primitive woodlands. Among the band of brave emigrants were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Maguire and their seven-month-old son, John. For four days they journeyed northward, over almost impassable roads. They were advised to turn back, but their determination led them to press on. Men of the party took turns carrying young John, since the wagon's jolting would be too much for the frail little body. One of those helping was Reverend James Henderson (1849-1924), whose first Methodist charge was the Shannonville circuit. Reverend Henderson became one of the most out-standing preachers of the Methodist Church in Canada. John Henderson, the minister's father, was the head of the party. When he insisted upon the first house having a cellar "big enough to stand in," the men dug to a depth of six feet. Cedar logs were chopped in a swamp a mile away and drawn to the site by oxen. Shingles were hewn by hand.

The Henderson-Maguire party was helped by other settlers at L'Amable, some of whom had arrived as early as 1856, when the Hastings Road was being opened along the township's western boundary. Perhaps L'Amable's first settler was Mr. Robinson, who built a saw mill and dam. A grist mill was also opened, and it was said to be the only one between Madoc and Barry's Bay. Later the grist mill was operated by William Jarman, who also operated the stage coach from Madoc to Maynooth. At times Jarman used as many as thirty teams of horses for this service. Another prominent settler was John Robertson Tait, a native of Scotland, who reached L'Amable by the Madawaska and Mississippi Rivers. Tait was postmaster, storekeeper, Crown land agent, militia captain, farmer, lime kiln operator, and first reeve of Faraday and Dungannon, 1870. He donated the land for the Presbyterian Church (1881), and the student ministers made their homes with him until the manse was built. Interested in sport, Tait had a race track on his property and helped the cricket team and the L'Amable fair. By the efforts of such pioneers as Maguire, Henderson and Tait, was the fabric of our county woven.

L'Amable, named after an Indian family, was a progressive com-munity in north Hastings. Settlers were attracted by the excellent water power, the good farm land and timber, and the free grant policy of the Canadian government in the 1850's.

Although many of the early settlers were English or Scotch, Dungannon had been named after an Irish town in Tyrone County.

Local government always attracted attention. The election of the reeve was particularly important. The voters gathered at the town hall, the two candidates went to opposite sides of the hall, and the voters stood beside the man they wished to be reeve. The candidate whose side of the hall was most crowded, won.

Turriff is a community in the south of Dungannon, in an area consisting largely of rolling hills, lakes and streams. The Booth Lumber Company of Ottawa took out timber from this area. The first settlers were John Turriff and his wife, who like most early inhabitants, came by Egan Creek. Other settlers were the Wenzleys, whose name was attached for a time to White Lake, and Bob McFee, who dammed the waters of Egan Creek to hold back water for the log drives. Some settlers came in from Lanark County, travelling over the Snow Colonization Road. The pioneers faced many hardships. Ira Foster (1870-1964) often told of carrying a bag of flour on his shoulders for ten miles. By the turn of the century, Van Allen's Mill was producing railroad ties and shingles.

The Presbyterians and the Plymouth Brethren were two early religious groups. The first school was a log structure with benches. Some students attended only in the summer. Poor roads and unfavourable weather made school attendance irregular. At Bronson, a schoolgirl would be paid one dollar a month to light the fires each morning. In 1898-99, the local teacher might earn $275 a year.

Bronson and Detlor are the chief communities in central Dungannon. Bronson was begun by the Bronson Lumber Company. Among the original settlers were Henry and George Bentley, John Cooney, and John Hawkins. Many early pioneers came as lumbermen and then settled down to farm. A local cheese factory gained a reputation as one of the best in north Hastings. Detlor, perhaps named after the family of William Detlor, is a recent community. The first store in Detlor was built in 1900 by Bart Conlin. A boarding house erected the same year (by Charles McGuire) now serves as a combined general store and post office. A Methodist (United) Church has served the community since 1894. The first school was a log one erected in 1881; Miss Tivy was the teacher.

East of Detlor is Jamieson Lake. Mr. and Mrs. George Turncliffe from Prince Edward County were possibly the first settlers at Jamieson Lake, settling there in 1875. Until they could build a log house, they lived in an old lumber camp built by the Jarman Company. Other settlers, such as Alex Foster, came from Lanark Township. Matthew J. Butler, who surveyed the Jamieson Lake area in 1880, described the lake as a fine one with high shores. Numerous small creeks watered the area, and fifty per cent of the land in that area was said to be suitable for agriculture. Surveyor Butler wrote: "Quite a number of settlers were

within the limits of my survey and did not know where they were." (Apparently there was some "squatting" in the district.) Butler predicted that settlement would expand, since "good roads can be easily obtained in almost any direction as the general surface of the country is tolerably level". Butler's prediction was realized, at least in part. Settlers continued to move in to the area near Jamieson Lake. To the nearby Egan Creek district came Royal Hennessy, William Miller, Thomas Tice, Peter Hennessy, George Smith, David Ferguson, Frank Moore, and Charles Cornell.

Bancroft marble, famed throughout Canada for its beauty and durability, has been mined and shipped from Dungannon. In the 1920's, Bancroft Marbles Limited operated a mill and several quarries. Bancroft marble was used in the Ottawa Parliament Buildings.

To-day the township's 900 inhabitants farm the better sections, engage in trade and lumbering, and cater to the growing tourist trade.
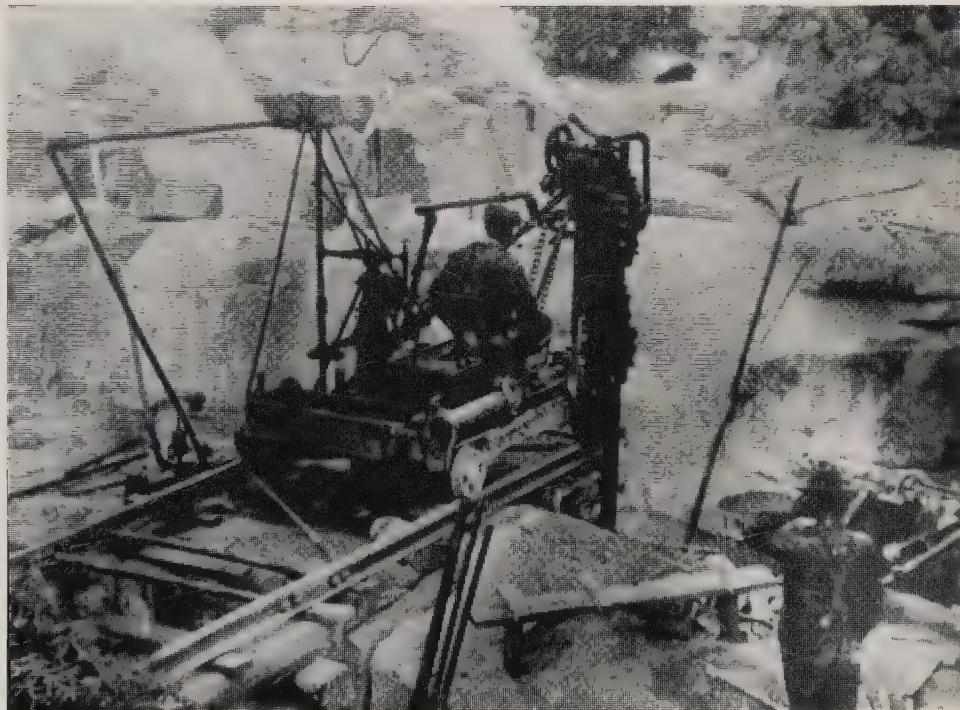
Cutting marble at Bronson, 1912.

Chapter 63

Mayo Township

"There are ten clearings and five resident occupants in the township. A ready sale and high prices are obtained from the lumbering establishments for all the produce the settlers have to spare."

(H. O. *Wood*, 1869)

Mayo Township, like several other townships in north Hastings, bears an Irish name. The township was named after Mayo County in western Ireland and the sixth earl of Mayo, who held key posts in the British government in the 1850's, during which time the township was created and joined to Hastings County (1858).

In its attempt to settle these northern lands, the Canadian government built the Hastings Colonization Road, north from Madoc Township. Branch roads were constructed in the 1860's, including the Mississippi Road (sometimes called the Perth and Hastings Road), which connected with the Monck Road at Bancroft. Although some money was spent on the Mississippi Road as early as 1857, the main construction took place after 1866-67. The road was nearing completion in 1869 when surveyor H. O. Wood was instructed to lay out settlement lots along the Mayo Township section. Wood also surveyed the southern part of the township and subdivided the land into farm lots. To reach the area, he came in from Ottawa, a journey of seven days. Possibly he made use of the township's only other road, which he described as a "passable summer road entering the township at the North boundary on lot No. 14 and intersecting the Mississippi road on lot No. 10." Wood described the township as generally rolling, with about half of the lands he surveyed fit for settlement. He looked for the Mississippi Road to help settlement.

Many of the first settlers came by canoe from the Ottawa district. They were, for the most part, Scottish Presbyterians. Trails had to be blazed through the dense forests, and hand-hewn planks were used to span the rivers and streams. Fortunately, the streams and lakes were full of trout and other fish, and the forest supplied plenty of game.

Several Indian families were living in Mayo when the first white settlers arrived. Among the Indians were the Baptiste family, who later moved to Baptiste Lake in Herschel Township. An Indian named White Duck, whose abode was a nest of leaves and brush beside an upturned root, was living in the northeast corner of Mayo when Archie McArthur founded McArthur's Mill in the 1860's. White Duck later made and sold sap troughs and canoes out of birch bark. An interesting story is still told about Peter Antoine, another Indian. One day Peter overtook two bro-

thers, by the name of Carr, walking along the road. "Just a minute," he said, hurrying ahead, "Just a minute. The 'Injun' always goes ahead of the cars." The Indians traded with the early settlers, and Indian squaws sometimes assisted with the birth of the white women's babies. As recently as the 1920's, the Indians travelled the Mississippi River from the Golden Lake Reserve in Renfrew County to Weslemkoon Lake; in winter they passed through with their dog teams.

Lumbering was an important early industry. Unfortunately, the western third of the township had been repeatedly burned over, and surveyor M. J. Butler noted in 1880 that the area had grown up thick with poplar, aspen, cherry, sumach, and other second-class commercial trees. Butler also discovered that the best pine had been cut down throughout the township and that beech was the principal timber. J. R. Booth and Farnham were early lumbermen.

Road construction in Mayo Township at the end of the nineteenth century. Hand tools were used for most of the work.

Surveying sections of the township in 1880, M. J. Butler commented on its prospects. The south-east corner, he felt, would be handicapped by beaver ponds. He suggested that Mayo's good, "somewhat stony" soil would hinder settlement. However, he confidently predicted that a settlement would be formed on the good land to the north of Crooked (Mayo) Lake. Already Mr. Hamilton, an energetic individual, was pushing through a north-south road to open up this area. The importance of roads to Mayo's early growth was summed up by Butler:

"I was surprised to see the large and thriving settlements in this section, largely, if not entirely, owing to the generous and judicious expenditure of money by the Government upon the Colonization Roads."

Perhaps the earliest settlements were those along the "Boundary Line", and then at Hartsmere, "Old Hermon", and McArthur's Mills. Prior to 1875, there was a school on the Boundary, serving the children of the Kerr, Stoughton, Mallard, Vandusen, Douglas, Town, and White families. Early settlers around "Old Hermon" included Thomas Dodds,

in 1875 the first postmaster, and the Bruce, Mather, Kirk, McMunn, Adams, Whyte, Stevens, Rankin, Caldwell, McEathron, and Childs families. The present settlement of Hermon was called Stringer's Corners years ago. The Stringers, McConnells, Kellers, Ramsbottoms, Beaudries, McPhersons, Hostlers, Bronsons, Chattertons, Bandys, and Peacocks were early settlers at Hermon. At Hartsmere (Deer Meadow), John Hannah was the first settler, according to the epitaph on his tombstone. The Hannahs and Wannamakers came from the Madoc area. In 1881, William Bremner became Hartsmere's first postmaster. He also operated the store and the district's first water-powered mill. The Demerells, Youngs, Lotts, Millers, McChesneys, Wades, Sleepers, Barkers, and Choinards were other early pioneers. Their first school was erected in 1879, and some inhabitants can still remember Indian children attending this school.

By 1890, Mayo had more than one hundred resident landholders, and county council separated Mayo from Carlow. Township Council first met in January, 1891, with William McMunn as reeve. Councillors were William McPherson, Charles McPherson, Robert Bruce, and David Pritchard. Earlier, James Wilson had served as the first reeve of Carlow and Mayo from 1870 to 1874.

McArthur's Mills owed its beginnings to Archie McArthur, a Scotchman from Almonte who visited the area in 1865 and was so impressed by the countryside that he soon returned. After building a mill on Gin Creek for William Bremner of Hartsmere, McArthur settled beside the Mississippi branch of the Madawaska River, founding McArthur's Mills. He built a lumber and grist mill with comfortable living quarters above. A blacksmith shop followed, and McArthur and Jimmy Tufts manufactured furniture, window frames, and other articles. They also made baseball bats for the boys and wooden dolls for the young ladies. Other pioneer families at McArthur's Mills included those of R. Y. Harvie (McArthur's son-in-law), Pritchard, Soanes, Thwaites, Scott, Parkhurst, Dillabough, and Bruce. In 1896, a school was built at a cost of $300, McArthur himself receiving the tender. The first teacher, Mary Wadsworth, was paid $25 a month. Sixteen desks were obtained at a cost of $46.38, and the blackboards were wide pine boards painted black. The ratepayers took pride in the school, and their first minutes include a request to the teacher to warn the children against cutting or marking the building. In 1940, a township school area was formed, and the McArthur's Mills and Hermon schools have been the only Mayo schools used since then. A post office was established at McArthur's Mills in 1895. About the same time, the Mayo and Raglan Cheese and Butter Company opened, with J. R. Ballard of Madoc as the cheesemaker.

Indiscriminate lumbering depleted the main means of livelihood before 1900. With the forests gone, the poor quality of the soil was realized. Rough and rocky fields did not help farming.
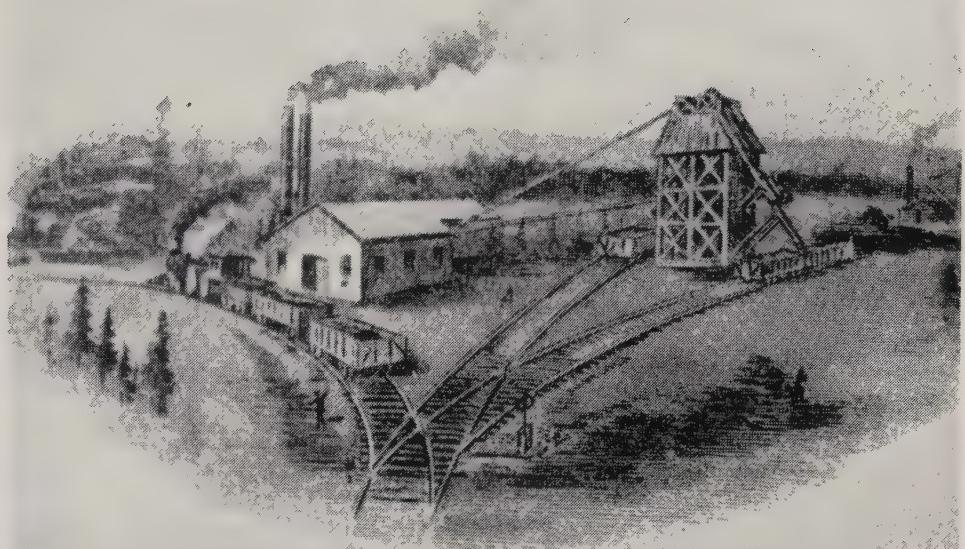
The Mineral Range Iron Mining Company operation at Bessemer, as it appeared in the early 1900's. The company advertised "high grade Bessemer ores, clear white marble, general merchandise, saw and shingle mill, and all classes of cedar."

In 1906, the Bessemer Iron Mines were opened, offering employment to about fifty men until World War I. The community was named after Henry Bessemer (1813-98), the Englishman who developed the Bessemer process for manufacturing steel from cast (pig) iron. A post-office opened in 1906, with Harry Bingham as postmaster. The Childs and Rankin mines also produced iron ore, but all production ceased by 1914.

Religion was not neglected. At first, student ministers came via canoe and held meetings in private homes and later in the school-houses. In 1868, Reverend Archibald Lees of the Canadian Presbyterian Church visited the district. Organized church services began in 1880, with Reverend D. Beattie officiating at a communion service for 35 people, 22 of whom were new communicants. Two children and four adults were baptized the same day. Services were held in The Boundary Line Methodist Church from 1897 to 1904. The Presbyterian Church was erected in 1910, the minister, Mr. Telford, building the pulpit. Prior to 1902, there were a few Plymouth Brethren in the area; and in 1912, the sect known as Judge Rutherford's Followers (now Jehovah's Witnesses) began to appear. An Anglican church was in use for several years after 1912. Pentecostal and Free Methodist preachers have held services in the area periodically. A few years ago, Mennonites began to arrive from the Kitchener area; they erected a church in the early sixties.

Because of their remoteness from physicians, the pioneers made use of many home remedies. These included cat-tail salve for burns, sap of the green swamp ash for ear-ache, mare's milk for whooping cough,

and dry mustard or sliced onions on the soles of the feet for breaking a fever. Rye flour poultices were applied for pneumonia, sphagnum moss was used to relieve bleeding, and castor oil was the cure-all for everything.

Many interesting customs were to be found in Mayo. An axe was placed under the bed when a baby was being born. Blood charms were used by a few tried and true persons. Taffy parties and sleigh-rides were two of the many popular amusements. Diapers were "the Flag of our union." Many of Scottish descent can still be easily recognized by their speech. "Wee" is one word; also "bo-le" for bottle; and "li-le" for little.

One of the surviving legends is that outlaw Lonnie Dale, Jesse James' right hand man, settled in Mayo for a time. He is said to have built himself a shanty under a huge willow tree and to have lived mostly to himself. Posing as a phrenologist, he told people's fortunes by the bumps on their heads. Then he left as suddenly as he had arrived.

From about 190 6 to 1914, the Bessemer Mines were in operation. This picture shows the ground being cleared by hand. Shown are Dan Mc-Eathron, Ben Beaudrie, and J. Storey.
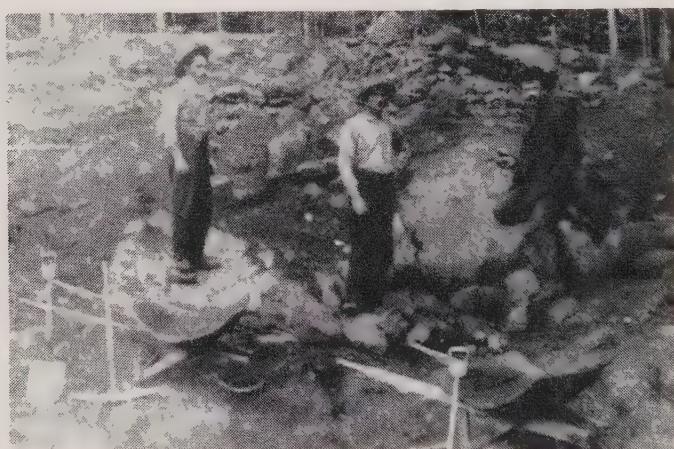
To-day, Mayo Township has about 400 inhabitants. There are three stores, two churches, two schools, and a hall. Hydro-electricity has been serving the township since June, 1952. Township council administers local affairs. In 1962, Mrs. Myrtle Barker was elected to council, becoming the first woman member. The forests support two small lumber mills, and residents anticipate renewed mining ventures. Tourism is an important industry, since the township's game and fish resources are abundant and there are growing cottage settlements. The Toronto Y.M.C.A. operates Camp Wangoma on Wanamaker Lake. Mayo's inhabitants are proud of their township.

Chapter 64

Herschel Township

*"Salmon and Speckled Trout are found in abundance
in Long Lake."*

(A. B. Perry, 1864)

Herschel Township was named in honour of Sir John Frederick William Herschel (1792-1871), a noted English astronomer. With his father, who discovered the planet Uranus, Herschel pioneered the study of stars in space.

Added to Hastings County in 1858, Herschel Township owed its beginning to the Hastings Colonization Road, which generally followed its eastern boundary. In 1864, the *County of Hastings Directory* noted that there was a 'thriving settlement along the road in Monteagle and Herschel".

At the same time, the Canadian government was trying to settle the interior lands of Herschel. In December, 1856, surveyor J. S. Peterson was instructed to survey the township's boundaries and sub-divide the eastern five lots. Peterson reported that, although the northern boundary was rough and stony and the southern concessions along the Hastings Road were often hilly and broken, there were 4,000 acres of good land to the east of Long Lake and perhaps 1,500 acres of good land west of that Lake. By Long Lake, he meant Lake Baptiste, which later received its present name from an Indian family. Then in 1864, the Canadian government despatched A. B. Perry to subdivide the remaining five-sixths of Herschel into lots. Perry's findings were somewhat discouraging:

"The General aspect of the Township is undulating, considerably broken with Lakes, Ponds, Swamps, Marshes, and Granite hills; the latter in some instances are very steep and suggest and often rise to a considerable height."

Perry brightened his picture by calling attention to the white and red pine, which he described as being of "Superior quality", and to the York River, which afforded "ample privileges of Water Power for Milling and Manufacturing purposes". Perry optimistically estimated that fully two-thirds of Herschel was "well adapted for Agricultural purposes". He concluded:

"That part theretofore surveyed adjoining the Doyl Settlement is rapidly filling up. The access by the Hastings Road together with the Peterson Road,—A Ready Market for the Surpluss produce of the Settlers. And employment for themselves and teams during the fall and winter months. Serve to render this Township a desirable one for the Settler."

Despite Perry's over-optimism, he was correct in stating that the lands near the Doyle Settlement (later called Maynooth) were filling up. By 1889, about thirty percent of the settlers in the united townships of Monteagle and Herschel were living adjacent to Maynooth, although that community's main business section was located in Wicklow Township. A second population centre was in the south-east, in the area served by the post office at Beechmont. This area included Baptiste, York River, and Bird's Creek. At Bird's Lake near Bird's Creek, Thomas French built a saw mill and cheese factory, and James Best operated the blacksmith shop. The north-west section of the township, with its several lakes, rivers, and rocky ridges, remained largely unsettled.

The Maynooth stage is shown arriving at Bancroft on June 10, 1906. On this occasion, stage driver W. Carswell completed the fifteen mile route in "extra good time" — two and a half hours. The passengers were John Spence and his wife, road superintendent Charles McConnell, and Philip Ryan. The route lay through Herschel, Monteagle, and Faraday Townships.

The pine forests attracted lumbermen. The Bronson Company floated out logs to Ottawa and Bancroft, by way of the York, Madawaska, and Ottawa rivers. The Rathbun Company also took out logs. Perhaps the first township saw mill was located on a bay of Baptiste Lake. Another mill was owned by Mr. Hughes, after whom Hughes Station was named. Martin Brothers Lumber Company later operated a saw mill on the site of the Hughes' mill.

To ship lumber from this area, the Irondale, Bancroft, and Ottawa Railway was planned around 1900. For several years, the line extended only as far as Mud Creek, where the turn table was. A stage travelled from there to Bancroft. Later, the line became part of the Canadian National Railway.

The rugged countryside of northern Hastings has handicapped the surveyor, discouraged the farmer, attracted the miner, rewarded the lumberman, and enchanted the artist, sportsman, and vacationer.

The Baptiste area is a picturesque part of Hastings County. According to tradition, it was the site of a Hudson Bay Company fort in the eighteenth century. Later, the Algonquin Indians are said to have settled in the area. The district later produced some minerals; Alex Watson operated a mica mine.

The first roads, apart from the Hastings and Peterson Colonization roads, were merely paths or trails. One ran from Bird's Creek in the south-east corner to Mud Creek, thence to Baptiste. Another ran from Baptiste to where the Baptiste school stands and then south to the Town Line. Youngsters living along the Town Line attended Beechmont School in Faraday Township, while those living nearer Baptiste attended school there. After 1951, these schools were closed, and the pupils were transported to the central school at Bird's Creek.

Farther north in the township, a five mile road serves the McGarry Flats area and a growing tourist development on a north arm of Baptiste Lake. Just south of the village of Maynooth, the Scott Line Road served what was known as the Shields Settlement.

Throughout most of its existence, Herschel has been united with Monteagle Township. However, in 1960, Herschel was established as a separate municipality, and Frank G. Peever was elected as the first reeve.

At present, Herschel's six hundred inhabitants farm, lumber, or work in nearby Bancroft. The tourist industry plays an ever-increasing role in the Baptiste Lake area, described a century ago by A. B. Perry as being a fisherman's heaven, because of its salmon and speckled trout fishing.

Chapter 65

Monteagle Township

"From all the information I have been able to obtain,
this is the best township on the Hastings Road."

<div align="right">(J. S. Peterson, 1858)</div>

With a population of almost 1,000 persons, Monteagle is one of the most heavily populated townships in north Hastings. Its development began about 1853 when Publius V. Elmore surveyed the route for the Hastings Colonization Road. The route passed along the western boundary, with some deviations caused by lakes and streams. In December, 1856, J. S. Peterson was instructed to survey Monteagle's boundaries and to divide the western third into farm lots. Peterson found that the southern lands were rather too sandy and light for good agriculture. Although he believed the township's surface to be "all hilly or undulating", Peterson wrote in glowing terms of the interior, whose soil was described by experienced woodsmen as being of a very superior quality. He concluded:

"As this township affords facilities to sustain a large population, and as many people are now looking for land to settle on in that locality, I would strongly recommend that the residue of the township be subdivided into Concessions and lots for settlement."

In 1858, Monteagle Township was officially created and added to Hastings County. It was named for the Right Honourable Thomas Spring-Rice, Lord Monteagle (1790-1866), who served as secretary of state for the colonies. Lord Monteagle was born in Limerick, Ireland.

Thanks to the Hastings Road, the western lands began to fill up, and in 1861 the government decided to implement Peterson's recommendation concerning the surveying of the rest of the lands. From July to November, 1861, John J. Haslett completed the township survey. With the exception of a narrow band along the eastern boundary, Haslett found that the land was fit for settlement. "The soil is good even on the tops of the highest hills, which nearly in every instance are covered with hardwood timber," Haslett wrote. The township was said to be well watered, with many pure springs. Although beaver dams had caused several swamps, these lands could be drained and made into good farms. Roads, Haslett claimed, were not always practical on concession lines, "owing to hills, swamps, and lakes"; however, there were several good sites for roads.

At the time of his survey in 1861, Haslett found no settlers or squatters living in the interior of the township. Settlement apparently was still confined to the lands along the Hastings Road. By 1864, one writer spoke of a "thriving settlement along the road in Monteagle and Herschel".

The identity of the first settler is unknown, although some give the honour to Jerard (Jarad) Welsh, who is reported to have come in by canoe in 1835. A native of the state of Maine, Welsh married an Indian girl shortly after his arrival and spent most of his lifetime trapping in the Monteagle area. Another early settler was George Bartlett, whose house on Lot 19 of the ninth concession must have been erected after 1861. Attracted by the beautiful stands of pine and maple, James McAlpine and his sons were pioneers along the northern boundary. McAlpine patented his land in 1863, and George McAlpine is the fourth generation to make his living from that land. Other settlers before 1865 included John Daly, Patrick Ward, Martin Hughes, Patrick and Michael Moran, John Rouse, and Michael Doyle.

Probably in the 1860's, the Musclow family arrived in the township, settling at the site of the present community of Musclow. The Musclows came from Eganville, as did the Glenns and Rutledges.

The old and the new, 1908. Teacher Earl Van Blaricom stands in front of the old log school and the "new" school at the Musclow Settlement (S.S. No. 9).

Although most early settlers were law abiding, crime was a problem at times. In the spring of 1862, the scythe murder of a Monteagle resident, William Munro, led to the execution at Belleville of John Aylward and his wife. The case touched off a violent reaction, and the Aylward orphans and their deceased parents became the centre of much continuing publicity. Religious strife was stirred up, since Munro had been a Protestant and the Aylwards were Roman Catholics.

Monteagle and Herschel were joined together from 1874 until their separation in 1960. John Fitzgerald was the first reeve of the combined townships. Among the council's first tasks was the selection of sixty path masters, each of whom looked after two miles of road. In other business, the fee for tavern keepers' licences was set at $15, and applicants were

required to have at least four "spare" beds and to be able to stable four span (pair) of horses.

Agriculture was difficult and early methods were primitive. An older citizen recalls early wheat being harvested by cutting off the head with scissors and threshing by hand. The grain was cradled and treated by hand for many years. There are said to be two surviving hollowed stones in Herschel Township and one in Monteagle where the settlers ground their corn into meal.

Threshing on the farm of Fred Kilusky, 1904. A rod connected the horse power device to the threshing machine, which was located in the barn.

Lumbering in the 1870's was the backbone of the township's economy. The E. B. Eddy Company took out many hand-hewn squared timber, each more than fifty feet in length. James McAlpine and James Grant were known to have been river drivers. Later, the Whitney, Rathbun, and Valley lumber companies exploited the forests.

Industry developed to a small degree in Monteagle. At Bell's Creek, east of Maynooth, Mr. Bell operated a tannery. He also made harness, shoes, and moccasins. Cheese has been a major industry, and cheese factories at Greenview, Salmon Trout Lake, and on the third concession helped to put the district farmers on their feet. From the last factory, cheese was taken by wagon to Ormsby for shipping by train. One of the township's prominent businessmen of this century has been Max Miller, who has supplied stores with his home-made axe handles since around 1900.

Mining activity dates back at least to the beginning of this century. Between 1911 and 1916, graphite was mined from two properties just east of Graphite Station. In the 1920's, the Hybla area (perhaps named after an ancient Italian town on the slopes of Mount Etna or a Sicilian

The Graphite Mine in action, Monteagle Township, 1913.

Main Street, Maynooth, 1910.

Central Ontario Railway station at Maynooth.

town famous for its bees) was the centre of a flourishing feldspar mining industry. More than a dozen small mines were opened within a two mile radius of the MacDonald Mine. This mine was the largest one, producing 35,000 tons of feldspar between 1919 and 1935. Feldspar mining continued intermittently until about 1950. Among the other township minerals studied, and worked in some cases, were corundum, nepheline syenite, mica, and radioactive elements.

Monteagle reached a population peak shortly before 1900. Lumbering and agriculture were still competitive. Families were often large; John McAlpine had 16 children, and John Musclow had 17.

The increasing population taxed the existing schools. Perhaps the first of these had been built by 1865 along the Hastings Road, near Maynooth. Later, S.S. No. 2 was built at Hybla; and about 1870, S.S. No. 3 was erected south-east of Maynooth. In 1890, James Best of Herschel undertook to build a new school for the trustees of S.S. No. 3. The school was to be completed within three and a half months. Best was to build it "in good workman like manner, and according to the best of his art and skill". The early trustees did not treat men and women teachers equally, since they paid a man $310 in 1893 and a woman only $242.50 in 1894. Still, they enjoyed having a woman teacher. In 1917, Mrs. J. P. McAlpine succeeded a teacher of twenty years' standing, and the trustees made great preparations to meet the new teacher, even competing for the privilege of providing board for her. Life was gay. The new teacher had the time of her life. "There were dances, card parties, plays, and readings, and fun like I'd never had before."

Monteagle's first church was located on the Peterson Road at the township's northern limits. It was a Protestant Church, built about 1882 and used by Anglicans, Methodists, and Lutherans. Later, it was called Emmanuel or White Church. Other churches included Zion Church (1886), Maynooth Methodist Church (1896), and Christ Anglican Church (1901). About 1901, the Lutherans erected their first church, which was replaced by a new building in 1964.

The township population has not increased in the twentieth century. Soil depletion, the decline of lumbering, and the closing of the nearby Bancroft uranium mines led many young people to leave. To-day, there is no public school in Monteagle; pupils are taken by bus to schools in Wicklow and Herschel. The loss of the agricultural fair in adjacent McClure Township and the decline of baseball and some other sports have limited the recreation outlets. Still, the township's deer hunting and fishing opportunities are second to none in the county. The tourist industry, coupled with agriculture, the pulpwood industry, and an expanding reforestation programme are keys to Monteagle's future.

The Shamrocks ball team Monteagle, 1910. Standing (l to r) Jack Fitzgerald, Jack McAlpine, Mike McAlpine (Marysville), Mike McAlpine, Jim McAlpine (Marysville), Jimmie McAlpine, Pat Cassidy. Kneeling (l to r) Anthony McAlpine, Joe McAlpine, James Sabourin, J. P. McAlpine.

Chapter 66

Carlow Township

> *"At the time I completed the Survey there were in the township twenty Clearings comprising in all 270 Acres and the Settlers all appear to be doing well and in very good circumstances . . ."*
>
> (C. F. Aylsworth, Sept. 4, 1866)

For many years before the coming of the first white men, the waterways of Carlow Township were known to the Indians. Their birch bark canoes travelled the York and Mississippi rivers. The remains of two dugout canoes are still visible, at Mallard and Whyte lakes. At least two Indian land trails crossed the township. Such Indian relics as pottery, pipes, arrow heads, and skinning tools have been found. Guy Wilson of Boulter has a collection of these articles, many of them found on the site of an old camping ground on the shore of Fraser Lake.

Lumbering was the industry that first drew attention to Carlow Township. As early as the 1830's, lumbermen from the Ottawa Valley began to take out the giant pine timber. By the 1860's, the best pine had been culled out, and C. F. Aylsworth discovered in 1865 that there was little remaining pine suitable for squared timber, although many saw logs were available.

Aylsworth had been sent out by the provincial government to survey the township. On May 23, 1865, his party of ten reached Madoc Village and then proceeded north on the Hastings Road. From York River, near Bancroft, the party went five miles east to Egan's Farm in Dungannon Township. Then the nature of the countryside forced Aylsworth to stop for a few days, until his men could build canoes to carry their provisions into Carlow. On May 31, eight days after his departure from Madoc, he began the survey. Aylsworth wrote:

"The greater portion of the Township is composed of excellent farming land. The Soil is principally Sandy loam and the Timber chiefly Maple, Beech and Basswood (that is on the Best land)."

Although the south-east and north-west corners were particularly unsuited for agriculture, the surveyor believed that the central lands would be excellent for farming. On 20 clearings totalling 270 acres, the settlers in 1865 were growing 30 bushels of fall wheat per acre, about 40 bushels of oats, up to 200 bushels of potatoes, and over 2 tons of hay per acre. There was a good turnip crop. The settler's diet, according to Aylsworth, also made use of the salmon trout, pike, bass, perch, and speckled trout, all of which were present in large numbers in the various lakes and rivers, notably the York and Little Mississippi rivers. There were two

good mill sites on the York River and one on Papineau Creek, although none of these had been developed by 1865. Aylsworth completed his work in February 1866, leaving behind him the "nicest survey" in the county. All concessions and lots were square, and there was not a gore (triangular section of land) in the township.

The earliest settlers arrived before 1865, attracted by the timber and agricultural possibilities of the area. Among the first were the Wilson brothers, James and Robert. They came in from Springtown, a community in Renfrew Township at the head of the long rapids on the Madawaska River. After thirteen portages on their way up the Madawaska, they were told by some Indians of a stand of good hardwood bush. There, each man cleared two acres before returning to Springtown to help with the harvesting. In the late summer of 1863, accompanied by Sam Mallard and George Bartlett (who almost drowned when their canoe upset in Calabogie Lake), the Wilsons returned. Their landing place on the Little Mississippi, marked by a dead pine on a height of land, was later known as Haryett's Landing. They burned their fallows and built a log cabin on the land belonging to James. Then they went back to Springtown for the winter, returning to their new farms the following spring. They brought with them a horse. Since there was no bridge across the York River, they had to swim the horse across. Unfortunately, the horse was a stubborn stallion and refused to enter the water. The men felled a spruce tree into the water, and put a long rope on the horse. One man got out on the tree and pulled the horse into the water, while the others prompted the horse with a gad until he swam across.

Another early settler, also from Renfrew County, was Joseph Stringer, after whose family Stringer Lake was named. The McAllisters, John Halliday, Alex Stewart, William Allison, William Hynes, Andrew Telford, John Stewart, George and A. E. Towns, Edward Bartlett, and J. R. Tait were other early settlers. In 1867, Thomas Wilson arrived, and William McWhirter settled near Fraser Lake.

Several lumber companies operated in Carlow, including the Hilliard and Dixon Lumber Company and the Conroy Company. A lumber depot was established on the Lavoy farm at Havergal in east Carlow. This depot contained a store, a post office, a boarding-house, and a blacksmith shop. As elsewhere in the county, the pioneers worked in the bush in the winter as part-time lumberers. Joseph Stringer was spoken of as the best hewer in the township when it came to squaring timber. River accidents were numerous during the timber drives. A grave on the high bank east of Conroy Rapids can still be seen. The name "Andrew Duncan" and the date 1872, as carved on a slab by one of his companions, are still legible. Apparently the ghosts of these river drivers were believed to haunt the area, although at least some of these ghosts were only too real. About 1913, James Taylor, an experienced foreman on the river drives, had an adventure with a "ghost" on the Madawaska River. Tay-

Lumber operations in Carlow Township, 1919. James Taylor was the foreman, and J. D. Pennock of Boulter was the scaler. The last big river drives to leave Carlow for the Ottawa River were in the years between 1915 and 1922. These drives were by Findley and Ferguson Lumber Company. Between 60 and 70 thousand cords were in the river drives. After 1900, Charles Kelly and later E. Lumb operated a sawmill on the York River below Boulter. Guy Wilson started lumbering in 1924; in 1936 he started the first saw mill at Bailey's Lake in Carlow Township. The picture below shows a log jam on the Madawaska River.

lor's job was to travel up and down the river bank at night, checking for log jams at the rapids. He carried a long birch with a torch on the end. His path went past the graves of several river men who had drowned in the rapids. One night, he saw something white standing near the graves. Conquering his fear, he approached the spectre, which suddenly started to move back. The "ghost" seemed to fall over a root, and Taylor struck the figure with his long pole and kicked it with his heavy boots. The figure's yelling finally brought two chums on the run. The pair explain-

Boulter General Store, 1908.

ed that it was all a joke and then gathered up the "ghost" and carried him to camp, where he nursed two broken ribs.

The completion of Aylsworth's survey in 1866 was followed by increased settlement. The Carlow Colonization Road from Combermere to Mayo Township helped settle the lands around Havergal, Boulter, and Fort Stewart. In 1869, the township's first post office was opened at Boulter; mail was carried in from L'Amable. Boulter was named after Dr. G. H. Boulter of Stirling, the County warden in 1867 and the first member for North Hastings in the Ontario Legislative Assembly after Confederation. Later, post offices were opened at Conroy (1879), New Carlow (1882), Havergal (1886), and Fort Stewart (1891). After the "Conroy Farm" post office and store burned in 1883, the post office was relocated in the farm house of John D. Campbell. Having a better-than-average education and a liking for poetry, Campbell asked that the post office be named in memory of Frances Ridley Havergal, noted poetess and hymn-writer. Fort Stewart was named after John Stewart, who owned an early tavern. This offered the only accommodation for travellers. The only reason ever given for calling it a 'Fort' was that it stood on a height of land, from which a person could see eight miles of grand scenery.

Increased settlement in Mayo and Carlow Townships led in 1870 to the creation of a united township, with James Wilson as first reeve. In June, 1890, Hastings County approved the separation of the two townships.

The first school in Carlow was built in 1873 about 200 yards east of the present Boulter store, on land donated by Joseph Stringer. Miss Agnes Carswell was the teacher, and there were about 30 pupils at first. The school served as a church until 1875, when a log church was built. Another school, the Fort Stewart School, was built later, and that site continued to be used for school purposes until 1952. About 1885, the Havergal school was built; it was replaced in 1916 by the "Tin School". The two-room school near Fort Stewart (1952) now houses most of the township's eighty pupils, with a few at New Carlow.

Although Carlow took its name from an Irish town and county (famous for struggles between English and Irish), many of the early settlers were Scots, and the Presbyterian Church was perhaps the first to minister to the settlers. Mrs. James Wilson organized and taught Sunday School in her own home before the coming of a clergyman. After 1868, Reverend Archibald Lees and students from Knox College preached the gospel. James Wilson and Robert Grant were ordained elders in 1868. and the former was the precentor in the first church, built south of Boulter in 1875. A Methodist Church (1898), and a Brethren Church (1902) followed. North of Fort Stewart, Mennonites from the Kitchener area presently use the former red school-house as their chapel.

Recreation was not neglected. About 1873, the Carlow Centre Cricket Club played teams from Combermere and L'Amable. The Carlow players were nattily attired in white pants and shirts, with red socks, and red and white caps. Their flag was white with four red C's.

Ball players and their lady friends near Boulter, 1889. Back row: Grace Wilson, George Stringer, Linnie Wadsworth, Jim Stewart, Jennie McLean, Jim Legris, Hannah Wilson, Robert Stringer, Mary Jane Dick; Second row: Dawson Wadsworth, Maggie Stewart, Jim Stringer, Mary Wilson, Bob Campbell, Mary Young; Front: Robert McLean, Peter Stringer.

The cheese industry was growing at the beginning of this century. Women made their own before 1900; then a cheese factory was erected at Fraser Creek. This factory operated for about thirty years. District cheese was exhibited at the local fall fair which was held in the early 1900's, until financial problems caused it to cease.

From about 1905 to World War I, Carlow experienced a mining boom. Corundum, a mineral noted for its abrasive qualities, was mined at the Burgess Mine in Carlow and the Craigmont Mine in nearby Raglan Township. Both sites are now ghost towns, and little evidence of the mining boom remains, except a long, almost hidden, underground tunnel at Craigmont and rock caverns at Burgess Mines. Nevertheless, for a time

they brought prosperity, employing several miners and offering a market for the farmers' produce. When Robert Stringer, a store owner and blacksmith near Stringer Lake, drove the first car in the district in 1913 — a Ford with right hand steering — some of the more daring miners at Burgess Mines offered him a dollar to take them on a tour of the community. Stringer agreed, and the group had a ride, although some of the more timid miners backed away, fearing that the vehicle might blow up.

The township's northern position has meant a slower growth for the tourist industry than in some more southern townships. Yet, even in the 1920's and 1930's, many guest homes catered to tourists. To-day, there are fewer guest homes, since vacationers usually bring their trailers or tents, or build cottages on Fraser Lake and the other waterways.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the township's small population— about 350 persons—Carlow's citizens are a proud people. They take great pride in their pioneer ancestors. On the south shore of Fraser Lake, the fifth generation of the Wilson family is resident on the homestead of Thomas Wilson. Other families have given up their family lands, but still regard them as a part of their proud heritage. For 81 years after 1863, the Allison family farm near Fraser Lake was inhabited by descendants of William Allison, a weaver of Scottish origin.

A wedding at the old Allison homestead, Carlow Township, June, 1911.

Chapter 67

Bangor Wicklow and McClure Townships

"Very few Squatters had Settled in these Townships
tho Many are now Coming in to examine the land . . ."

(E. H. Kertland, 1859)

Bangor, Wicklow, and McClure are the most northern townships in
Hastings County. With a combined population of about 700 persons, they
have been grouped together for municipal government; however, the in-
habitants of each of the three take great pride in stressing the individual
features of their own township.

The townships were named in the late 1850's. Bangor was probably
named after the Welsh town of Bangor, famous for its beautiful surround-
ings. McClure honoured Sir Robert John McClure (1807-1873), the Brit-
ish Arctic explorer who first proved the existence of the Northwest Pas-
sage. The third township, Wicklow, took the name of an Irish county
and town.

The noted explorer and geographer, David Thompson (1770-1857),
was one of the first persons to leave a record of his visit to the area.
In October, 1837, he passed through Bangor Township, making use of
the waters of the Madawaska River and Kamaniskeg Lake. On his map,
Kamaniskeg Lake was identified as "We mine tik oos" or the "Lake
of Isles". At the eastern end of Kamaniskeg, Thompson is believed to
have come across a squatter named McRae. This settler gave Thompson
a sack of potatoes and sold him thirty pounds of flour so that he could
continue his journey.

David Thompson was followed by other explorers and surveyors such
as J. J. Haslett, but it was only in the late fifties that the government
made a real effort to survey the lands. The opening of the Hastings Road
along the McClure-Wicklow boundary caused the government to send J.
S. Peterson to the area. In December, 1856, Peterson was instructed to
survey the boundaries of McClure and Wicklow and to lay out some
lots for settlement. In all, he divided 26,200 acres into lots. Most of
these lots were in the southern concessions, where Peterson described
the land as "good and competent to sustain a large settlement". The best
lands, he claimed, were in the third, fourth, and fifth concessions of Wick-
low. Unfortunately, the lands farther north in Wicklow were "generally
poor, sandy and rough". In McClure Township, the land was generally
poor, although along Papineau Creek there were stands of "very fine white
and red pine timber, which will become valuable in the lumber market".
The best lands in McClure were to be found in the south-east, in the vicin-
ity of the present community of Maynooth.

Peterson's preference for Wicklow over McClure as a site for settlement led the government in 1858 to send Toronto surveyor Edwin Henry Kertland to complete the survey of Wicklow and to survey sections of Bangor and Radcliff. Kertland's diary described his difficulties: "I selected Belleville for My Market Town judging from its geographical position that provisions could thence be conveyed to the necessary points at a less expense than from any other point; although had I at that time Known the Comparative Merits of the Hastings and Opeongo roads I should Certainly have selected Ottawa even had the distance thence to the Centre of My Work been greater than from Belleville . . ."

Kertland complained that the maximum load taken by teamsters on the Hastings Road north from Madoc was 800 pounds, half the load allowed on the Opeongo Road from the Ottawa area. Also, the wagons travelled an average of twelve miles a day on the Hastings Road, half the rate of speed on the Opeongo Road. "Even moving at this rate," Kertland wrote, "we were obliged to unload several times and help the empty Waggons up the hills, the men carrying the loads on their shoulders."

Kertland finally reached Egan's farm in Dungannon, where the provisions were transferred to canoes for the rest of the journey. Two days later, the party reached a lumber shanty near Maynooth. The actual surveying began on November 6, 1858, eleven days after the party had set out from Toronto. The survey's progress was slowed by a heavy snowfall:

"The snow during the winter of 1858-59 was very deep (about 4 feet) and seldom even fit for the use of Snow-shoes — adding to this the great shortness of the days . . . living under Canvass in the depth of Winter is a thing that very few of the toughest lumberers will consent to do . . ."

Nevertheless, Kertland completed his survey. One of his predictions —contrary to Peterson's earlier work—was that the northern lands of Wicklow and McClure would prove to be a better quality than the southern lands. Kertland also found that there were good pine stands in the eastern sections of Bangor, although they were being thinned out. Very few squatters had settled in the townships by 1858, but Kertland predicted that the bridging of the Opeongo Branch (Peterson) Road over the Madawaska River would lead many of the settlers along the northern sections of the Hastings Road to use the Opeongo route, rather than coming in from the south. "This will inevitably be the case," he wrote, "when Ottawa City has become the permanent seat of government."

In 1860, Kertland returned to the townships for further exploration. Despite his earlier comments on the trials and tribulations of surveying in winter, he still preferred winter work, since in the early summer months:

" . . . flies render perfectly accurate work almost an impossibility;
In the early part of June I had much difficulty in keeping my party to-
gether, all the axemen having more than once determined upon giving up
the Work, and indeed Considering their Swelled faces and blinded eyes
I could not wonder at their desire to get relief . . ."

Flies were most to be dreaded, Kertland noted, from the middle of
May to the middle of July, which period later surveyors were advised
to avoid.

In 1860, Kertland found that there was still only a handful of
settlers. However, lumbering was growing, and Daniel McLachlin, of
Arnprior, described as "a well known and thoroughly energetic lumber
merchant," had several camps in operation in 1860. The townships' main
problem remained the lack of good roads. With improved transportation,
Kertland wrote, the area would "become the first and most populous part
of the Province". Until such roads were built, the townships would "re-
main for years to come further from their County town than Toronto is
from Montreal".

An important part of the
lumber camp was the "cook
house". The workers include
Sterling Hoare of Bangor
(arms folded).

Early survey reports boosted Bangor and Wicklow more than Mc-
Clure. In 1860, Kertland described the land along Bangor's eighth and
tenth concession lines as the "best land in the whole survey", and Wick-
low was reported to have much good land. Only in 1870 did the govern-
ment divide the residue of McClure Township into lots. Surveyors For-
neri and Kennedy accomplished the task, despite heavy snows that made
the roads almost impassable and poor transportation that delayed sup-
plies for three weeks and resulted in short rations. The surveyors also
complained about the labour shortage:

"The men refused to remain any longer with us on account of the
laboriousness of the Snow-shoeing, and we could not replace them at rea-
sonable rates, inasmuch as the Lumbermen were offering as high as Thirty
Dollars per month."

Forneri and Kennedy found that there were numerous swamps and
beaver ponds, and that only about a quarter of McClure would be suit-

Winter travel often depended on horse and cutter in the early years of this century. The Joseph Longs of Bangor prided themselves on driving a smart horse and cutter. Buffalo robes helped to keep the family warm.

able for settlement. There were some likely looking areas, however: "Although these tracts present a very pleasing appearance to the eye, yet on a close examination, the soil is found to be very stony." The surveyors commented further:

"The central portion of the Township has been visited by a Tornado at no very distant period: the trees are not only upturned but in many instances are broken off at some distance from the Ground."

McClure's pine timber resources were said to be of fair or medium quality, although they were not yet being worked in 1870. Forneri and Kennedy predicted that the township could become a good stock-raising area. McClure's population was very small, although the surveyors remarked on the very hospitable reception they received. The only settled area in 1870 was in the southeast, where the Scotch Settlement of twelve families raised produce for the local market. This settlement was along the Scot's Bush Road, just north of the village of Maynooth. The surveyors found that Maynooth, "at the intersection of the Peterson and Hastings Roads, being the four Corners of McClure, Herschel, Monteagle and Wicklow, is a thriving business place, containing four Stores, a School house, Black-smith's Shop and other places of industry." Maynooth probably was named after the town of Maynooth in eastern Ireland.

Among the early settlers of McClure were the Doyle, Dillon, Bennett, and Lynch families, who came in from the south by the Hastings Road. The MacLaren, Barr, and Cannon families came from near Perth, arriving by way of the Peterson Road. Other pioneers were the Baragar, Gannon, Hewitt, and Hamilton families.

Michael Doyle was the first storekeeper at Maynooth, and the settlement was known as Doyle's Corners for some time. Doyle travelled by wagon to Belleville to bring in supplies. He would leave on Monday and reach home once more on Saturday. After the Victoria Railroad came

to Haliburton in 1878, he obtained his supplies over the Peterson Road, that being a shorter and better route. In 1871, Michael Doyle was the first reeve representing the united townships of Bangor, Herschel, Mc-Clure, Monteagle, and Wicklow. These townships remained a municipal unit until the withdrawal of Monteagle and Herschel in 1874, at which time J. W. Bennett became the first reeve of Bangor, Wicklow, and Mc-Clure. By 1888, Maynooth had four stores, two blacksmith shops, two "houses of public entertainment", a grist and saw mill, a Presbyterian Church, and a Roman Catholic Church. The village's prosperity was boosted by the lumbering. In the late 1800's, the Conroy, Bronson, Eddy, and Rathbun companies took out red and white pine. The arrival of the Central Ontario Railroad gave a fresh impetus to lumbering after 1908, and there was a growing market for pulpwood. Sawmill operators includ-ed D. K. Card and Sons, 1908-55; Martin Brothers in the 1920's, and J. S. L. McRae in the early 1950's.

The first school in McClure was built, probably before 1870, on Lot 11 of the Hastings Road. To-day, the township is part of a consoli-dated school area, and students attend the Maynooth Public School in Wicklow Township. H. A. Fentie has been principal of the Maynooth Public School for 36 years.

McClure's first post office, called Tara, was established in 1861 at Doyle's Corner's. It became Oxonden in January of 1863, and finally Maynooth in April of the same year.

Lake St. Peter in northern McClure received its name more than a century ago. For some time the nearby settlement was known as Porter-ville; however, in 1910, the station on the new extension of the Central Ontario Railway was officially called Lake St. Peter. The first school, a log structure, was replaced by a new building in 1912.

Despite predictions by surveyor Kertland in 1859 that northern Wicklow would become an important area for settlement, this was never realized. Only limited settlement took place, mostly in the south-west near Maynooth, or in the south-east near Maple Leaf. The natural beauty of the area has attracted cottagers to Papineau Lake, on the eastern boun-dary, and tourism has developed into an important industry in all three townships.

Bangor is the township furthest from the seat of county government —Belleville. It contains three settlements: Purdy, Centreview, and Bell Rapids. Purdy was named after a lumberman by that name, as was Purdy Lake (originally called Loon Lake). Purdy's early settlers were farmers and bush workers who settled along the Peterson Road. A local land-mark in early days was "Paddy" O'Brien's Hotel. The original road leading north from that hotel to Centreview was, and is still, known as the Paddy Road. In 1864, William Lake became the first postmaster at Purdy. Pioneer names prominent about 1870 were Duncan MacGregor,

Joseph Long, George Payne, John Cairns, and Calvin Dafoe. Dafoe was the father of John Wesley Dafoe (1866-1944), a leading newspaperman who served as editor of the Ottawa *Evening Journal* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. He was a figure of national importance and helped represent Canada at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Purdy's first school was built before 1874 by the settlers. With the exception of the door, the window trim, and the teacher's desk, the building was entirely constructed by men with broad axes. For a time there were no desks, and the children sat on benches along the walls. The window curtains were fashioned from newspapers by the lady teacher. A new school was built in 1914.

The settlement of Centreview probably got its name because of its position, midway between Purdy and Bell Rapids. From Centreview there is a splendid view, overlooking such lakes as Purdy, James, Papineau, White Duck, and Kamaniskeg. A. Y. Jackson, one of the Group of Seven, has spent much time in the area capturing on canvas the colourful autumn beauty of Bangor. Henry Boyle and George Riley were early settlers, attracted by what a surveyor in 1860 described as the "best land" in the three northern townships. Centreview's post office opened in 1914, with Henry Blaney as postmaster. A cheese factory operated in Centreview for some years after 1896. In 1963, the old school became a community centre.

Making maple syrup at Andrew James' farm, Centreview.

Bangor's third farming community, Bell Rapids, is the county's most northern settlement. It may have been named after Robert Bell, who surveyed the Madawaska River area above Kamaniskeg Lake in 1847. Pioneers included John Allan, George and William Cowan, John McCormick, and Samuel Price, all of whom settled there before 1880. A school was erected about 1880, and the post office opened in 1905 under John Hicks.

Bangor's first church was the Anglican Church at Purdy, built around 1900. The Brethren, Baptist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic Churches have sent travelling missionaries through the area.

Pioneers of Bangor in front of a log house at Bell Rapids: Mr. and Mrs. William Cowan and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Watson.

The life of the Bangor pioneers was similar to that of settlers throughout north Hastings. Farming and logging were the main occupations. The lumber camps and the corundum mine at Craigmont provided cash markets for the farm produce. In the winter months, the men would be absent, working at lumber camps; and their wives and small children grew accustomed to hearing wolves howling nearby at night. A few of the men earned as much as $1.25 a day mowing hay. Some women earned 25 cents a day shearing sheep. Home medical remedies were popular, and teeth were extracted without freezing. The usual diet consisted of potatoes, salt pork, beans, and home-made bread.

The township's population has decreased. Marginal farms have been deserted, and the families are smaller than they once were. Usually by the age of 14, the boys would leave home to work in the lumber camps for about $15 a month. The girls would stay home or go out and do housework until they were married.

Many of the early settlers were superstitious. It was thought that certain people had the power to do evil to their neighbours. After she had been refused permission to use a farmer's straw to make straw hats, a Bangor woman is said to have walked through the farmer's wheat field; within a few days the wheat field turned black. One way of breaking an evil spell was to put a black hen in a bag, and, after backing up to the intersection of two roads, throw the bag over your shoulder and get away quickly, never looking back. Another story was that after two feuding neighbours died, their fighting continued. Driving by the graveyard, people could hear the same old bickering. Suddenly it stopped. On investigation, a grave was found to be empty. One of the pair had gone back to the hills, where he could be heard at night riding his horse and herding stray cows.

Kamaniskeg Lake in eastern Bangor is one of the county's largest lakes. Its name is said to be Indian for "Wild Goose". On November 12, 1912, it was the scene of the sinking of the stern-wheeler "Mayflower", commanded by Captain J. C. Hudson. Nine lives were lost. Mrs. Fred Richter, whose uncle was the "Mayflower's" pilot, has written:
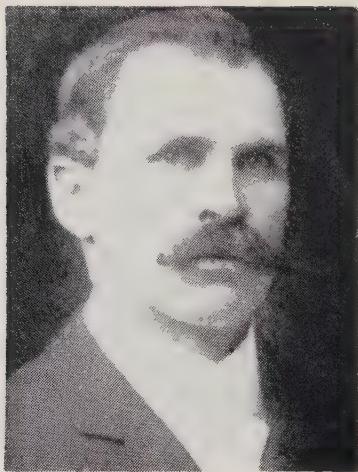
Captain J. C. Hudson of the ill-fated "Mayflower", tragic victim of a storm on Lake Kamaniskeg, November 12, 1912.

It was a stormy night back in nineteen twelve
With wind and a driving snow;
The Mayflower rocked as she left Barry's Bay dock
For Combermere, some miles below.

All was well as she whistled and headed forth
Through the narrows of Barry's Bay;
She was sailing straight although she was late,
Holding firm as the wind held sway.

Captain Hudson, the owner, had been called upon
To make this special run;
With no thought of dread they went to pick up the dead —
The body of a Mr. Brown.

They were late getting away from the bustling Bay,
But happy as they homeward wheeled;
Though darkness fell, there was no sound of knell
As they steamed past the shores concealed.

Aaron Parcher was Pilot at the post of command,
A helmsman dear to each mate;
The passengers told tales midst the howl of the gales,
Little knowing they were near to their fate.

It was opposite Gull Island that the trouble began—
Someone shouted, "There's water inside!"
When they got up on deck there was water to their necks
"God help us! God help us!" they cried.

Pilot Parcher struck out bravely to swim to the shore,
He told them that help he would seek,
"Hold tight boys. Stay afloat. I'll come back with Dad's boat."
The last words he was ever to speak.

Frantic cries were lost in the howl of the storm,
Their eyes gathered tears of distress;
As they tossed to and fro in the deep boundless foe,
What thoughts came to their minds—who could guess?

It was not until next day in the late afternoon
That the few survivors were found;
On each face there was cast all the horror that had passed
As they told that the rest were all drowned.

They had floated to Gull Island on the Casket.
As said in Ripley, one dead man saved three!
No truer words were said: they were saved by the dead —
A miracle was it destined to be?

Many years have gone by since the sinking
Of the Mayflower to her watery grave,
A tragedy gone past, memories that will last
For the loved ones who tried to be brave.

To this day she remains in the Kamaniskeg
A sorrowful sight-seeing wreck
There's a feeling of woe as you look down below
And gaze at her water soaked deck.

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In addition to the many individuals and organizations whose help in providing source material for this book has been acknowledged in the preface, the following sources have been especially useful.

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The author's appreciation is extended to the many individuals and institutions who have willingly supplied pictures for this book. Every attempt has been made to determine the correct source of each picture; however, in some cases this has not been possible. The author would appreciate hearing of any additions or corrections.

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1966 Census

In June, 1967, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics released final population figures for the 1966 Census of Canada. These figures reflect the growth of Hastings County over the past century. In 1966, the total population of 94,127 was distributed in this way:

Townships:

Bangor, McClure and Wicklow	745
Carlow	348
Dungannon	901
Elzevir and Grimsthorpe	651
Faraday	1,018
Herschel	569
Hungerford	2,140
Huntingdon	1,447
Limerick	224
Madoc	1,549
Marmora and Lake	1,240
Mayo	382
Monteagle	984
Rawdon	2,090
Sidney	11,825
Thurlow	5,217
Tudor and Cashel	504
Tyendinaga	2,474
Wollaston	582

Villages:

Bancroft	2,152
Deloro	185
Frankford	1,823
Madoc	1,385
Marmora	1,331
Stirling	1,354
Tweed	1,747

Towns:

Deseronto	1,836
Trenton	13,746

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Belleville	32,785

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Endpapers: The Hastings County Court House and Gaol, 1878, from a view in Belden's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward.* The court house was erected in 1838-39 when the county was set up as a separate district for judicial purposes. Prior to that time, the district courts had been held only at Kingston or Adolphustown. Tenders for the building in 1837 called for it to be "of strong substantial coursed work, with massive stone quoins, door cases, eaves and sills, the building to cost a sum not exceeding £5,000." A competition was held to select the best plans, and the first prize of £20 went to Thomas Rogers of Kingston. Total cost of the building was £10,946. It was on the terraced lawn that the citizens of Hastings County celebrated the original Dominion Day, July 1, 1867.